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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1938

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**CONTENTS**

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Church-Party Relationship in Poland Satirized by Albanians (Ymer Minxhozi; ZERI I POPULLIT, 29 Sep 81) .....	1
Warsaw Pact One-Man Ground-Air Rocket Described (Guenter Lippert; SOLDAT UND TECHNIK, Sep 81) .....	3
Briefs Kosovar Hails Life in Albania .....	7

**ALBANIA**

Increases in Maternity Leave for Working Women (SHQIPTARJA E RE, Aug 81) .....	8
Up to 180 Days Paid Leave, by Vasil Mitrushi Text of New Provisions .....	

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Position of Religion in CSSR Defined (Jiri Loukotka; TVORBA, 2 Sep 81) .....	10
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**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

Decree Provides Improved Credit Terms for Young Married Couples (SCHWERINER VOLKSZEITUNG, 31 Aug 81; GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, 6 Aug 81) .....	15
Explanation of New Decree Text of Decree .....	
Details of Basic Military Flight Training Provided (E. Gebauer; AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Aug 81) .....	19

## HUNGARY

Ovari Addresses Departments of Marxism-Leninism (Miklos Ovari; PARTELET, Aug 81) .....	23
---	----

## POLAND

Report on Plenum of ZNP-Education Main Board (GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, 7 Dec 80) .....	30
Report on Plenum Resolution of Plenum	
Impact of Higher School Reform on Vocational Training Discussed (Stanislaw Karas; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 26-27 81) .....	39

## ROMANIA

Party Members Charged With Dishonesty, Abuse of Power (MUNCA DE PARTID, Sep 81) .....	43
Romanian Views on Laws Governing Use of Outer Space (Marian I. Nicu; REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, Sep-Oct 81) .....	51

## YUGOSLAVIA

Croatian SAWP Notes Security Problems (TANJUG Domestic Service, 13 Oct 81) .....	59
'Misunderstandings' Over Democratic Centralism Aired (Nijaz Durakovic; SVIJET, 31 Aug 81) .....	61
Briefs Veterans Funds Embezzled	67

CHURCH-PARTY RELATIONSHIP IN POLAND SATIRIZED BY ALBANIANS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Ymer Minxhozi: "A Quarrel in the Family"]

[Text] The following took place in one of the voivodships of Poland: the first secretary of the revisionist party of the voivodship, Bozinski, quarrelled with the parish priest of the church, Popinski.

The following heated dialogue took place:

Popinski: Either you do what I tell you or I will not allow you to attend evening Mass.

Bozinski: If you do not allow me to attend evening Mass, I will not pay my church debt.

Popinski: If you do not pay your church debt, I will not allow you to carry the banner with the cross in the procession on Sunday.

Bozinski: If you do this, I will not publicize your Mass in my newspaper.

Popinski: If you do not publicize my Mass, then I will not baptize your children and I will not hear your wife's confession.

Bozinski: If you do not baptize my children, I will take them to a church in Warsaw.

Popinski: If you take them to another church for confession and baptism, then I will not sprinkle you with holy water at Christmas.

Bozinski: If you do not sprinkle me with holy water, then I will order the instrument plant not to produce any more metal crosses.

Popinski: If you do this, I will call for a strike and the factory will be shut down completely.

Bozinski: If you shut down the factory, I will report you to the party bureau.

Popinski: If you report me to the party bureau, I will take action to prevent you from being elected party first secretary.

Bozinski: If you prevent me from being elected party first secretary, I will complain to the Pope in Rome.

Popinski: If you complain to the Pope in Rome, I will never take you with me on a pilgrimage to the Vatican.

Bozinski: If you do not take me with you to the Vatican, I will not permit the instructors of the party committee to assist you by serving as deacons at Sunday Mass.

Popinski: If you do this, I will no longer write your speeches for 1 May or for your party congresses.

Bozinski gave in at this point.

CSO: 2100/8

WARSAW PACT ONE-MAN GROUND-AIR ROCKET DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 9, Sep 81 pp 518-520

/Article by Lt Col Guenter Lippert: "SA-7/GRAIL--the 'Arrow;' The Soviet Anti-Air-Craft Weapon for Everyone"7

[Text] In the past ten years, SOLDAT UND TECHNIK has reported several times about the SA-7/GRAIL. The following article summarizes what is known at present about this weapon, which--next to the "Kaldshnikov"--is the biggest Soviet arms export item and which, just like the Kaldshnikov, is part of the equipment of terrorists and resistance fighters of all types.

The SA-7/GRAIL is known by the Russian name of "Strela" (arrow) in the Warsaw Pact forces. It is a one-man anti-aircraft weapon launched from the shoulder firing position against low flying aerial targets which have a maximal velocity of 860 km/h (0.7 Mach). The guided anti-aircraft weapons system, which resembles the American "Redeye," was developed in the late 1960's. It has been combat tested even before mass deliveries to the Soviet army and the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact armies were made: in 1968/69 in the battles at the Suez Canal which followed the Six-Day War of 1967; and at approximately the same time in Vietnam, where the United States Air Force for the first time used flares as infrared bait to deceive missiles.

The SA-7/GRAIL has in the meantime been distributed all over the world: it is not only part of the standard equipment of the Warsaw Pact forces, but has also been supplied to the armed forces of numerous other nations of various political orientations. Among them is the People's Republic of North Korea, Vietnam, South Yemen, Arab states governed by Socialist regimes such as Algeria, Libya and Syria, as well as Finland and Kuwait. But not only have the profits pleased the Soviets: the anti-Rhodesian resistance movements used the SA-7 in jungle warfare against the white rulers of today's Zimbabwe. The Palisario liberation movement supported by Algeria and Libya used them to down Moroccan aircraft over the Western part of the Sahara, and Western European security experts fear that they could be launched by terrorists against civilian planes in international airports--as happened some years ago when Palestinians used them in Rome. For the Soviets, their "arrow" turned into a boomerang: SA-7/GRAIL, either stemming from Soviet military aid or else copied, which had probably been delivered by Egypt, ended up in the hands of Afghan liberation fighters, who deployed them against Soviet combat helicopters.

## Structure and Performance Data

At present we know of two versions of the Soviet anti-aircraft weapon: the original version, SA-7a/GRAIL, and the improved version SA-7b/GRAIL MOD 1.

The most essential difference between the two versions is the improved motor of the SA-7b, through which cruising speed and effective range have been considerably increased.

The Warsaw Pact forces use, in addition to the green combat model, two variations for training purposes: one silver-gray model for drilling, and one yellow model for training purposes. The drilling model resembles the real weapon only in its external appearance, and the training model resembles it completely except for the missing bursting charge. With it, all steps up to the actual launch can be practiced.

The main components of the SA-7/GRAIL, which weighs approximately 15 kg, are: guided missile with infrared homing device; launching tube with sighting device and target acquisition indicator; reusable launching device; external power supply.

The guided missile has a length of 1.40 m, a diameter of 70 mm, and a weight of 9.2 kg. The warhead, including infrared homing device, alone weighs 2.5 kg. The passive infrared homing device responds to rays in the middle infrared range (around  $10^{14}$  Hz), i.e. especially heat radiation from aircraft and helicopter engines. For that reason, aerial targets can be engaged only from behind, i.e. once they have passed over. The steering signals of the homing device are transmitted to two pairs of steering and stabilizer fins which are behind the warhead at the tail end of the missile. Propulsion for launch and cruise comes from solid fuel rocket motors. The cruise engine gives the LFK GRAIL a cruising speed of 1610 km/h and an effective diagonal range of 3220 m, and to the LFK GRAIL MOD 1 a cruising speed of 2090 km/h (1.55 Mach) and an effective diagonal range of 4830 m. The fuse of the warhead does not become active until the missile has traveled 45 m, in order to protect the operator. After approximately 12 seconds, after propulsion has stopped, the missile explodes through a spontaneous destruction mechanism.

Before being launched, the guided missile is firmly connected to the 1.45 m long launching tube made out of plastic which is reinforced with fiberglass, and equipped with two fuse caps. Hinged on the tube are a circuit switch, the annular front sight, and the notch; attached to the mounting support of the latter is the target acquisition signal, a small green-flashing light. The external energy source comes through a duct at the lower front part of the launching tube. This duct also serves as support for the launching device. The tube also has two mounting supports for carrying straps.

The reusable launching device is connected to the tube through 24 plugs in the SA-7a, and 28 plugs in the SA-7b, and secured with a pin. It contains the safety and firing mechanism.

The external energy source consists of a thermal battery, which is activated by turning the outside friction switch. It supplies the infra-red homing device with power until its detectors have acquired the heat rays of the aerial target. From this moment on the missile's internal energy source takes over. Since the external energy supply lasts only approximately one minute, the operator must have picked up the aerial target on his visor within this time period. If not, the external energy source is depleted and must be replaced.



## Engaging the Target

The process of engaging the target with the SA-7/GRAIL is as follows: on the command, "Get ready, Step 1," the operator assembles the weapon and observes in the sector assigned to him. As soon as an aerial target appears, he activates the external energy supply by turning the friction switch. Now he has one minute maximum to pick up the target in his visor through front and rear sights, identify it as enemy target, and classify it as engageable with the SA-7. During this time, a peep sound gives an acoustic indication that the detectors of the infrared homing device are functioning. The peep sound becomes higher when the detectors have picked up the heat rays of the aerial target. After a few seconds, the lighting up of the target acquisition signal indicates that the built-in power supply is on, that the homing device has fixed on the target, and that the weapon is ready for launching. Now the operator selects the lead value, which he must estimate based on the aerial target's velocity and direction of flight, and then he launches the missile. It is still not clear whether an identification-friend-or-foe radar for the SA-7/GRAIL has been generally introduced or not. Pictures from Eastern military sources indicate that such an apparatus has at least been developed and tested. (See Vol 9/1976, p 468).

## Classification

In the Warsaw Pact ground forces, an SA-7 crew consists of one operator and his assistant. The operator carries with him the launching device, the tube with integrated missile and two external energy sources, and his assistant an additional launching tube with two external energy sources. The components of the weapon are in canvas bags. One replacement unit consisting of two tubes and four external energy supply sources is brought along in a wooden box weighing more than 30 kg. Every motorized infantry company in the combat divisions of the Warsaw Pact ground forces has three SA-7 weapons systems. This means that every motorized infantry division and airborne division is equipped with approximately 100, and every armored division with approximately 50 SA-7/GRAIL systems. In addition, there are indications that some of the support and logistics troops are also equipped with the weapons system officially known as "portable anti-aircraft rocket complex." In the air force it is deployed--in part from special start mounts--against low-flying enemy aircraft for the protection of air fields.

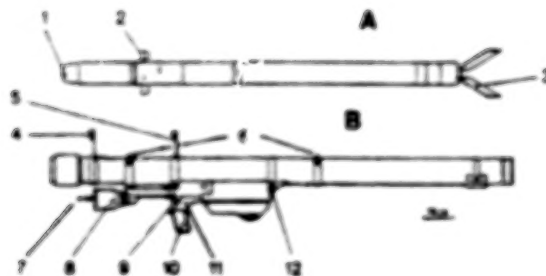
## Training

SA-7 operators are trained at the battalion or regiment level. Disks with light simulators, incandescent lamp garlands, and training cabins with projection screens are used as special training installations. Results and errors can be registered with the help of a monitoring device, which is connected by cable to the training weapon. During practice firing, artillery rockets fired from multiple rocket launchers serve as aerial targets.

## Evaluation

Use of the SA-7/GRAIL weapons system in air defense is quite limited because of the relatively low velocity and maneuverability of its guided missile, because the infrared device limits the weapon to following rounds, as well as the relatively long time required to get the weapon ready to launch. But in spite of this, the weapon represents a considerable threat to helicopters and to aircraft flying below the speed of sound and at low altitudes. Because of the abundance of this weapon in the battlefield, these machines are forced to fly at an altitude where they can be detected by radar and engaged by the SA-9/GASKIN, SA-8/GECKO and SA-6/GAINFUL anti-aircraft systems of the air defense artillery.

# Main Components of the SA-7/GRAIL



- Key: A. Missile
1. Infrared homing device
  2. Forward steering and stabilizer fins
  3. Rear steering and stabilizer fins
  - B. Launching Tube, launching device and external energy source
  4. Annular front sight
  5. Notch and acquisition signal
  6. Mounting supports for carrying straps
  7. Friction switch
  8. External energy source
  9. Vent
  10. Handle
  11. Safety latch
  12. Connecting bolt

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CSO: 2300/3

## BRIEFS

KOSOVAR WAILS LIFE IN ALBANIA--In an article by Sotirag Gjordeni, published in Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 10 October 1981 p 1, some old cooperative peasants in Durres District discuss the improvements resulting from the herding of livestock in the cooperatives, improvements affecting all areas of life. One of the peasants, "Old Abdyl", identified as a native of Kosovo, says that not only are he and his children and grandchildren happy with what they see but also "all the natives of Kosovo in Jube-Suth have a good life in the cooperative. For this they thank the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for giving 'light and joy' to their life." [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2100/8

## INCREASES IN MATERNITY LEAVE FOR WORKING WOMEN

## Up to 180 Days Paid Leave

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian No 8, Aug 81 p 27

[Article by Vasil Mitrushi: "A New Victory for Socialism in Albania"]

[Excerpts] The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the 7th session of the 9th legislature, approved the proposal of the Council of Ministers regarding some changes in the law on state social security, making maternity leave paid by social security funds 170 days; for women working directly in production, in heavy work sectors, the leave will be 180 days.

These changes are a great victory for our people and especially, for women. The revolutionary changes in the life of the people, the improvement of the material well-being of the masses and the intensive struggle for the protection of the health of workers, especially mothers and children, have had a direct influence on the increase in the population and the lengthening of the life expectancy of the people. Thus, during the years since the liberation, the population of the country increased 2.5 times, with an average annual increase of 2.8 percent, one of the highest in Europe, and at the end of 1985 it is expected to reach the 3 million figure.

Our country has a young population; about one-half of the population is about 20 years of age. More than 70 percent of the people were born, raised and educated during the years of the people's power. The extension of maternity leave will have an even greater influence on increasing the births of children who are correctly called "flowers of life." The granting of a longer period of leave to mothers after childbirth, at that period of time when the infant needs the most care, will have a great effect on the protection of the health of the child, reducing cases of sickness and infant mortality. Also, this measure will be influential in protecting the health of the mothers. In those enterprises where the majority of the workers are women, temporary inability to work will be reduced and the women will return to work more healthy and will do more productive work.

It is essential that the work to educate mothers be improved, in the "Mother and Child" schools, in lectures and meetings, so as to explain the physiological necessity of the birth process as a condition for the protection of the health

and the creative activity of the woman. Also, the activity of taking measures and executing hygiene and health norms for the protection of the health of the mother, for the lessening of the physical burden of work, etc., should be extended.

The protection of the health of mother and child affects everyone. The mass organizations, especially the Women's Union and the trade unions, have important duties in this regard. They must explain the benefits which the women will receive from the changes in the law and, also, they must explain the political, economic and social significance of these measures.

#### Text of New Provisions

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian No 8, Aug 81 p 27

["Law on some changes in Law No 4171 of 13 September 1966 'On State Social Security' and on a modification of Law No 4976 of 29 June 1972 'On Pensions for Members of Agricultural Cooperatives'"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution, upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania resolves:

The following changes will be made in Law No 4171 of 13 September 1966 "On State Social Security":

#### Article 1

Article 8 is amended as follows: "Leave before childbirth is 35 calendar days; for women who work directly in production in those sectors where the work appears to be heavy, it is 45 calendar days, and leave after childbirth is 135 calendar days.

The types of heavy work for women in production are stipulated by orders of the Council of Ministers."

#### Article 4

The second paragraph of Article 3 of Law No 4976, dated 29 June 1972 "On the Pensions of Members of Agricultural Cooperatives" is amended as follows:

"Leave before childbirth is 35 calendar days and leave after childbirth is 135 calendar days."

#### Article 5

The provisions of this law also apply for women who are in the process of using leave after childbirth.

CSO: 2100/11

## POSITION OF RELIGION IN CSSR DEFINED

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 35, 2 Sep 81 p 11

[Article by Prof Jiri Loukotka, PhD, ScC, director of the Institute for Scientific Atheism at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences]

[Text:] The thesis concerning the fundamental contradiction between religion as a non-scientific worldview and Marxism-Leninism as a scientific ideology of the revolutionary workers' class, on which building of socialism in our country is also based, contains the theoretical gist of critical Marxist evaluation of every religion as well as justification of fundamental approaches to this social phenomenon. However, Marxist criticism of religion and Marxist atheism are not being properly distinguished from the non-Marxist, bourgeois, vulgar materialistic, cultural enlightenment, free thinking, etc., critiques of religion and concepts of atheism. In many instances subjectivism and voluntarism are still attributed to the Marxist-Leninist critique of religion and Marxist scientific atheism as though the Marxist attitude toward religion, which is negative on principle, stemmed from some arbitrarily motivated prejudice or even as though it expressed some malicious effort to foment conflicts with the believers and to impinge without tact and sensitivity on their religious convictions and feelings.

Naturally, that interpretation of the principles of Marxist attitude toward religion is totally false and in fact, it stems precisely from an objective, historical determination of religion and not from the believers or nonbelievers may think about religious worldviews and religious convictions and what is their subjective evaluation of religion. A believer may subjectively harbor the purest, best intentions about the orientation of his worldview, about the values he prefers, and about the role of religious faith. Therefore, we do not blame him for his religious conviction, we do not ridicule him, we do not permit any insult of his religious feelings; on principle we do not regard him at all as an enemy just because he believes in God, the supernatural, supreme powers, etc. Even a nonbeliever may subjectively subscribe to completely wrong notions about religion, its origin and essence, as well as about atheism, its contents and social role. Thus, not every nonreligious, nonbelieving person can be considered atheist in the true sense of that word or in the sense of its Marxist-Leninist interpretation.

According to Marxism-Leninism religion is a product of certain objective conditions and of certain socioeconomic situations which in the final analysis determine and limit decisively man's cognition and potentiality of his spiritual life. Religion is an outcome of "the limitations of all interhuman mutual relations and of relations between the people and the nature" (K. Marx) which stems first of all from undeveloped



in underdeveloped forms of production in society and from the spiritual life of people circumscribed by a narrow framework of an undeveloped or insufficiently, insignificantly developed process of material production. In other words, it is an outcome of a situation where people find themselves under the domination of arbitrarily acting natural and especially social factors acting against people as alien, hostile forces and against which people are helpless because they do not recognize their causes and their substance. Through the prism of such restrictions the natural and social forces which the people do not know and cannot control appear supernatural; the result is a fantastic, reversed image of the world where erroneous figments of human imagination are attributed an independent, objective existence which is elevated even above the objective, real, natural world whose fantastic reflection had produced religious illusions.

If we proceed from this Marxist, truly scientific explication (explanation) of the origin and substance of religion and if we explain its social function on that basis in truly scientific terms (that religion must objectively fulfill the role of mystification and obscure reality and real problems with which people must deal, that it must play--whether anyone wants it or not, or whether anyone desires it or not--the role of the "opiate of the people," i.e., false consciousness reflecting contortedly the real, objectively existing world and the processes occurring in it, including the movement of social development), then, naturally, Marxist atheism with its principled critical attitude toward religion appears in a totally different light than in which religious propaganda tries to present it. It is axiomatic that this is not a question of some arbitrary or self-serving negation of religion which should "take faith away" from the people and assault their religious feelings, but rather an integral part of the process of emancipation where revolutionary action liberates man not only from his economic and social shackles but also from his spiritual shackles, opens to him a straight, undistorted view of natural laws governing the development of nature, society and thought, and thus, enables him to learn these natural laws on the basis of their objectively true cognition, and to use them to his advantage.

Analogically, it is evident that face to face with this reality scientific explication of the origin and substance of religion and its ideological role cannot withstand various allegations dusted off again and again by our opponents who attribute to socialism, the party and the communists hostility toward the believers, discrimination against the believers, brutal suppression of religion and churches in our country (and in other socialist countries), etc. It was precisely Marxism-Leninism which proved completely and convincingly that religion was firmly anchored in specific (exploitative) socioeconomic structures, in the cognitive potential determined and restricted by those very structures, and in general, in the potential of their spiritual life tightly circumscribed by a framework of those structures; thus, it would be naive to assume that the same Marxism-Leninism declared some kind of self-serving warfare against religion and wants to eradicate it by administrative infringements or simply, to prohibit it. Marxist atheism not only does not practice any of such things but explicitly rejects all such attempts because they are harmful and prevent people from overcoming in a really conscious manner religion and its influence. The most authoritative party and state spokesmen stressed on numerous occasions that our socialist state respects religious convictions of its citizens, that we respect believers whose active work contributes significantly to the building of socialism and who support the peace program of our party and our state. We give due credit also to the attitudes of those clergymen who sincerely support the peace program of our

country and influence the believers in that respect. Our society not only guarantees--in accordance with pertinent articles of our Constitution--free performance of religious worship, it also took upon itself various obligations to provide material support for the activity of churches and religious congregations, irrespective of the enormous funds spent on the maintenance and restoration of historical and culturally significant religious landmarks and buildings.

Of course, as compared with the past, religiosity and the overall effect of religion and churches in our country have very distinctly declined. This fact reflects a worldwide trend of religious decline and of an accelerated and more intensive process of secularization on the one hand, and on the other, this situation is the outcome of profound social metamorphoses through which our country is passing during the period of building of socialism.

The modern world in general notes decline of religiosity and conversely, a steep increase of secularization. Religious circles, theologians and various spokesmen of bourgeois ideology themselves admit that religion is now undergoing a serious crisis whose most symptomatic expressions are in the end the stubborn efforts to "modernize" traditional religious faith and its "aggiornamento," updating, its adaptation to the conditions of human life in the last quarter of the 20th century when religion in its traditional forms and shapes is losing its ground and finding itself frequently on the very periphery of social action. Occasional increased flare-ups of religiosity and greater surges of the religious wave stem usually from political causes and from a political background; the motives of a truly religious revival are becoming increasingly less frequent and more rare. The influence and prestige of religion and of the churches in our country had sharply declined already in the presocialist period, mainly because of the discredit of Catholicism due to its antinational and pro-Austrian (pro-Habsburg) policies which severely clashed with our people's general opinion and endeavor during World War I; after the founding of an independent Czechoslovak state this situation led to mass departures from the Roman Catholic Church. As a matter of fact, for example, as far back as 1921 the number of persons with no religious affiliation was 25-50 percent in the judicial districts of Rokycany, Plzen, Beroun, Krivoklat, Rakovník, Nove Strazeci, Unhost, Kladno, Slany, Most, Duchcov, Kralupy and Vltavou, Karlin (now a part of the City of Prague), Zelezny Brod, Semily and Horice, and in additional 33 judicial districts the number of persons without religious affiliation was in the range of 10 to 25 percent of total population.

Naturally, however, a distinctive exodus from religion in our country is related to the era of building of socialism. In the course of the building of socialism the quality of the socioeconomic structure of our society has changed, antagonistic classes were liquidated, the workers' class, in unity with other working people, became the ruling class and relatively soon achieved a high degree of social, political, moral and spiritual integration of our population on the basis of socialism and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Social foundations of religion, based on private ownership of the means of production and on the system of exploitation, fell apart. The rapidly rising material and cultural standards of the broadest strata of our workers, the consolidation of their social security, women's emancipation, the development of socialist democracy, positive changes in the character of labor, the abolition of the past marked differences between the town and the village, and great many other important changes in the life of our society and individuals also substantially weakened the opportunities for



religion to regenerate its gnoseologic (cognitive) and psychological roots. The revolution in relations of production and social structures which gradually affected the very foundation of our lifestyle and as a result--unlike in the past--provided it with new dominant features, which to a certain extent also disrupted the church and religious traditions and customs deeply rooted in the old style of life as anchors of religious revival and self-reproduction in socialism.

Undoubtedly, a meaningful role was played here also by thorough depolitization of religion and churches which did not lean so much on their spiritual and moral authority as on their unity with the ruling system and on their mooring in its economic, power and ideological structures. A system of legal acts and measures, beginning with the church laws of 1949 (law No 217/1949 of the Compendium of Laws, by which the State Bureau for Church Affairs was organized as an institution competent to regulate and control state-church relations, and law No 218/1949 of the Compendium of Laws on economic support of churches and religious congregations on the part of the socialist state) set provisions and prerequisites limiting the operations of the churches and religious congregations exclusively to the area of religious worship and curtailing their intervention in other areas that are in the competence of the socialist state and social organizations (education, culture, adult education, health care), thus eliminating also their opportunities to exploit or even misuse religion against the interests of our socialist society and against our socialist state.

Education in the scientific worldview (including its atheistic dimension) should not be underestimated; it was developed by the socialist state, its educational and cultural institutions and establishments (including schools of all types and on all levels), social organizations associated in the National Front, etc. It is among the basic tasks of our socialist state to develop this education in the scientific worldview with a systematic and tenacious purpose; this does not contradict--as it has been occasionally alleged--freedom of religion constitutionally guaranteed by our socialist system. If socialism fully respects religious convictions of its believing citizens and guarantees them unrestrained performance of religious worship, it does not mean that it should resign one of its main tasks stemming from its class foundations and from the historical role which it must accomplish: to create preconditions and opportunities so that all workers, the entire young generation, may adopt the scientific worldview, so much more so because the problem of religion and its survival in socialism has at least two significant aspects which must not be ignored and underestimated.

First: although many believers are subjectively sincerely convinced that religion and religious worldviews are compatible with socialism and do not preclude full identification with it, objectively the influence and vestiges of religion hinder total integration of the believers in a socialist society, stymie the process of growth of people's social awareness, their social activity and involvement. Value orientation of the believers and value orientation stemming from the scientific worldview often clash and that is necessarily negatively reflected in the consciousness of the believers; this in turn must generate certain reservations against socialism and doubts about it and in the end, also the opinion that religious convictions and the socialist worldview are, after all, incompatible. It goes without saying that this also leads to adverse practical social consequences.

Secondly: the influence and vestiges of religion link the believers--consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly--with the world "on the other side of the barricades." They serve as a kind of a bridge to that world which never ceases to be interested in liquidating socialism and eliminating all the achievements we have

scored in the process of building of socialism. Religious awareness remains a potential tool for manipulation with the believers, their social and political attitudes; it remains a tool for their use against socialism and for its abuse, as demonstrated at present so often and so very dramatically by the events in neighboring Poland as well as in other parts of the world where the imperialist circles and the spokesmen of the Church use in the end religious convictions of the working people and their feeling and manipulate them in order to enforce interests profoundly alien and hostile to the working man.

For that reason we emphasize so vehemently not only political vigilance and watchfulness and say bluntly that we shall not let anybody under the guise of religion and defense of its freedom weaken, violate and frustrate in any way the building of socialism in our country. We are therefore striving, first of all, to develop broad and thoroughly efficient political education and ideological action which will convincingly demonstrate to all our working people and to our entire young generation correct orientation in life and society, forge a truly firm and fundamental union with the noble humanistic revolutionary goals of socialism and communism, and inspire them to take an active part in their implementation. We recognize and resolve our attitude toward religion today as we shall recognize it and deal with it also in the future, above all in conjunction with these problems and tasks that are so crucial for the further successful progress of socialism.

9704

CSO: 2400/13

DECREE PROVIDES IMPROVED CREDIT TERMS FOR YOUNG MARRIED COUPLES

Explanation of New Decree

Schwerin SCHWERINER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 31 Aug 81 p 3

[Interview with Comrade Guenther Schwarz, director, Schwerin City and Kreis Savings Bank; by Ingrid Vogel; date and place of interview not given: "More Favorable Credit Terms for Young Married Couples." A translation of the official text of the GDR Council of Ministers decree cited below follows this interview]

[Text] [Question] On 1 September, the "Second Decree Concerning Improved Credit Terms for Young Married Couples" will come into effect. Exactly what are these improved terms?

[Answer] The category of persons and the age limit are identical with those outlined in the decree of 2 May 1972. The novel feature is the elimination of the joint gross monthly income of M 1,400. Even if the case in question is a second marriage, an interest-free loan for young married couples can be granted, if no loan was obtained by either of the partners in their first marriage. As a result of these provisions, practically all of the young married couples who at the time of their marriage are still below the age of 26 are included in this important socio-political arrangement by our state.

[Question] What were the determining factors in this regard?

[Answer] On account of the excellent work done by all workers, the people's net financial income has been steadily increasing--in particular after the Eighth SED Congress. On average, the monthly gross earned income of the individual worker or office employee increased from M 889 in 1975 to M 1030 in 1980. Even though these are average figures, they clearly show that the joint gross income of many young married couples exceeds M 1,400. Consequently, upholding the income limit would overly restrict the category of young married couples.

[Question] Changes benefiting many young families have been decreed also in regard to credit remission.

[Answer] Yes, it has now been unequivocally established that credit remission is granted not only for children born during the marriage, but also for children born before the marriage, over whom one of the two marital partners has custody, and for adopted children.

[Question] ... and how about those who got married just before the coming into effect of this decree?

[Answer] Even for these married couples, there are good openings. The interest-free loans for the purchase of home furnishings are available for 3 years after the contraction of marriage, i.e. for couples who on 1 September will have been married for 3 years or less. Loans for housing procurement (AWG [workers housing construction cooperative] share, remodeling and expansion of apartments, construction of owner-occupied homes, etc.) must be taken out within 1 and 1/2 years after the contraction of marriage.

[Question] In submitting their application, what else do the young married couples have to heed?

[Answer] They now only have to present their identity card and the marriage certificate. The income attestation is no longer required, since the income limit has been eliminated. We will continue to provide the applicants with all the advice needed. After all, in our area--the bezirk [GDR administrative unit] city and kreis [GDR administrative unit] of Schwerin--7,125 interest-free loans for young married couples--totaling just under M 36 million--have been granted over the last 9 years.

#### Text of Decree

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I  
No 24, 6 Aug 81 pp 297-298

[Official text of "Second Decree of 21 July 1981 on the Granting of Credits at Favorable Terms for Young Married Couples" signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and Kaminsky, president, GDR State Bank]

[Text] In agreement with the Federal Executive Board of the Free German Trade Union Association, the Decree of 10 May 1972 on the Granting of Credits at Favorable Terms for Young Married Couples (GB1. [GESETZBLATT: LEGAL GAZETTE] Part II, No 27, p 316) is revised as follows:

#### Article 1

Article 1, Paragraph 1 is revised as follows:

"(1) This decree applies to workers, employees (salaried working persons, whose work position is contractually defined), members of the armed forces, students, cooperative farmers, and to members of gardening production cooperatives, trade production cooperatives and production cooperatives of working fishermen, who contracted their first marriage before either partner had completed his or her 26th year (in the following, referred to as young married couples). The decree applies also if

a) at the time of the contraction of marriage only one of the marital partners belonged to the aforementioned category of persons;

b) one or both of the marital partners contracted a second marriage, neither of the partners took up a loan in his or her first marriage, and at the time of the contraction of marriage neither of the partners has completed the 26th year of life."

#### Article 2

Article 4, Paragraph 4 is revised as follows:

"(4) According to Article 448 of the Civil Code, the savings-bank has a lien upon the articles purchased. By virtue of the signing of the loan contract, the lien is considered established by written agreement. The lien expires once the loan has been repaid in full. In addition, the savings-bank must effect credit insurance for the loan amount applied for. The non-recurring insurance fee--amounting to 0.2 percent of the loan--must be paid by the borrower."

#### Article 3

Article 5 is revised as follows:

"(1) Of the interest-free loans to be repaid in accordance with Articles 2, 3 and 4, the following amounts will be remitted:

At the birth of the first child,	M 1,000
At the birth of the second child, an additional	M 1,500
At the birth of the third child, an additional	M 2,500

Credit remission is granted also for children born before the marriage, over whom one of the marital partners has custody, and for adopted children. The credit remission takes effect at the time the loan is taken up or the child is adopted.

(2) If at the birth of the first or second child the remainder of the loan is smaller than the amount remitted under the provisions spelled out in Paragraph 1, the cancellation applies to the loan amount still outstanding. If at the birth of the third child the remainder of the loan is smaller than the amount cancelled, the difference is refunded. This applies also in the event that the loan has already been repaid. This regulation also applies to credit remission for children born before the marriage or for adopted children.

(3) Cancellation is effected within the repayment periods established by this decree--the maximum being 8 years after the granting of the loan--upon presentation in the savings-bank of the birth certificate or child adoption certificate."

#### Article 4

Article 6 is revised as follows:

"(1) The applicants have to prove to the savings-bank their eligibility for obtaining interest-free loans through

- a) presentation of the identity card or an equivalent document for both marital partners;
- b) presentation of the marriage certificate.

(2) Interest-free loans for payment of the cooperative share upon affiliation with a housing construction cooperative or for the purchase of a permanent home or the construction or expansion of an owner-occupied house can be taken up within 1 and 1/2 years after the contraction of marriage. Interest-free loans for the purchase of home furnishings are available for a period of up to 3 years after the contraction of marriage.

#### Article 5

(1) This decree comes into effect on 1 September 1981.

(2) Young married couples who on account of their high joint gross income or on account of contraction of a second marriage before the coming into effect of this decree were not eligible for a loan may apply for credit within the time limits set in Article 6, Paragraph 2.

(3) Credit remission for children born before the marriage and for adopted children is granted in the case of loans that were obtained before the coming into effect of this decree, the maximum being the remainder of the loan as of 1 September 1981.

8760

CSO: 2300/10



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DETAILS OF BASIC MILITARY FLIGHT TRAINING PROVIDED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 8, Aug 81 signed to press 1 Jun 81  
pp 60-65

[Article by AR reporter Lt Col E. Gebauer: "When One Gets 'Wings': The Events Concerning the First Solo Flight of an Officer Candidate"]

[Text] The time: 1330 hours. The flight sessions are beginning. Officer Candidate Uwe Schmidt is assigned Number 151. He is to be the first to take off in order to complete by evening his two preparatory flights with his flight instructor, his test flight with the next highest supervisor, and his first solo flight in the L39 Albatros jet, the training and light tactical aircraft of the air force.

He who knows how to fly the L39 has crossed the threshold into a fighter pilot's life and can "work his way up" to twice and several times the speed of sound, a long way from the vantage point of the front seat of the Albatros. But does the beginning not have its special significance?

Twenty-year-old Uwe Schmidt is not the only one. All the students in the squad are faced with this task. But it was he, the organizer of the still small and so youthful SED party group, who took the initiative: prepares as well as possible for one's practical flight training in honor of the Tenth SED Congress. Now he is going to be the first to prove that those were not merely empty words. He is going to demonstrate with a successful free-style flight that we communists are beginning to fulfill the military class mission renewed by the Tenth SED Congress. Thus he will be watched.

Number 1 determines the pace, in minor as well as major matters. Uwe hastens to see the doctor. This is compulsory for all aviators. Pulse and blood pressure are perfectly normal. A little later Uwe is already sitting in the L39 for his cockpit training--an obligatory mental review of one's flight tasks while still on the ground regardless of whether one is a student or a first class pilot. In the cabin, with his pilot's helmet on, Uwe looks quite impressive, so that it is difficult to imagine the 15-year-old Uwe who in 1976 won his second try with the Gliders' Medical Committee only by putting handkerchiefs in his socks, thus exceeding the minimum height requirement of 157 centimeters by half a centimeter.

This time, after the weather flight, the instructors and the examining supervisors are also sitting in the briefing room. Among them is Colonel Koellner, deputy commander for flight training at the officer college. A couple of students furtively glance at him, the cosmonaut double of Siegmund Jaehn. Whose plane will he climb into? Could this be an indication of a future flying career? The final directions are being given...

Eighteen minutes before takeoff Sergeant Heider, the engineer of Number 151, says to Officer Candidate Schmidt, "Plane ready for service, fuel tanks filled in compliance with standards, all gases and liquids replenished, all instruments functional." Uwe walks around the aircraft, inspecting it; checks the hatches to ascertain whether they are shut; passes his flattened hand over the metal plates to see if any rivet heads are sticking up or any screws are loose. He examines the landing gear and looks inside the cockpit. Then he signs for the airplane. Now he has some time. Again and again he looks toward the tower. Walks up and down. Only when he sees his instructor approaching does he stop. Uwe reports to 1LT Grosser his readiness for his preparatory flight and his having taken charge of the plane. Both men climb in, the first lieutenant in the back, his student up front. Uwe switches the engine on. Then Number 151 rolls down the runway.

The time: 1400 hours. Number 151 takes off. Gains altitude. The noise of the engine is lost. Like a tiny dot the plane enters the first curve of the flight circuit, 500 meters up in the air and within sight of the airport. First Lieutenant Grosser follows all of his student's actions. He does not need to reach for the control lever either during takeoff or landing. Only a few tips are required. Occasionally Schmidt is too fast or he is too high for his landing approach. Between the two flights the 1st lieutenant reflects on the young man. The latter definitely has a feel for flying. He reveals the thoroughness of his GST (Society for Sport and Technology) training. Comrade Grosser knows from his own experience how much personal commitment is needed for a large number of gliding lessons and as many as 60 power plane lessons in addition to one's school work and professional training. The 1st lieutenant is also familiar with Uwe's evaluation by his GST flight instructor, who confirms the young man's devotion to aviation, but also notes the latter's tendency to overrate himself especially when he is successful. Comrade Grosser has not been able to detect these traits. Rather, he has noticed an ability to grasp matters quickly and to think and work ahead. Indispensable characteristics for an aviator. However, Uwe must study his theory more.

It is with respect that 1st Lieutenant Grosser observes party group organizer Schmidt. After only one year of party experience, the youth is seeking to fulfill his responsibilities in this function. Proof for the 1st lieutenant that Uwe's conception of the military aviator is not exclusively that of the aviator. First Lieutenant Grosser is likewise satisfied with the second preparator flight of his student. Grosser will present the student to his supervisor for examination.

The time: 1630 hours. This supervisor is Colonel Koellner. Again the same procedure. Uwe inspects Number 151, signs a receipt for it. Once more he has



time. Did he inspect too quickly? This reporter noticed that Sergeant Heider attended to the plane with more care--or to the student? Led Uwe to the rudders and the landing gear and, without being obtrusive, checked along with him the positions of the switches in the cockpit. It could not be solely an account of Colonel Koellner. Certainly he wished to prevent Uwe from missing anything in his environment about the examination. Colonel Koellner arrives. His greeting is as friendly as if they were going to undertake a joint flight. It seems that the burden of tension is removed from Uwe's shoulders. But as he swings into the seat in front of the colonel, the tension is back. It is a good thing that Colonel Koellner is sitting behind him. Two circuits are flown for examination purposes. Right after landing, at the prestart line, the colonel takes Uwe aside. He talks to him, suggesting certain flying positions with movements of his hands. "Well," says the colonel in conclusion, "the first flight was not so good. The second one was more than good. Altogether a strong grade of good. Comrade Schmidt, you may fly alone!"

Joyous relief rushes across the youth's face. The colonel makes an entry in his flight book: "Control techniques mastered well. Maintain altitude in the third curve. Good." Many people will envy him the colonel's signature because it is that of a cosmonaut's double.

Not much? Uwe is obviously happy that the colonel told him more than he set down in writing.

The time: 1800 hours. First Lieutenant Grosser has checked, as required by regulations, whether everything around the second seat is ready for the solo flight. Another encouraging glance at Uwe, then he goes off to the tower.

Sergeant Heider again assists Uwe. Looks to see whether he switches on the appropriate units. Watches the indicators as the engine is turned on. Uwe adheres to his rules. Heider can bolt the roof of the cockpit. Now Uwe is alone. The turbine is at idle. On his left in Number 154 is Officer Candidate Zipfel. The latter is to take off after him. Uwe holds up his thumb. Zipfel responds with the same gesture. Then the engineer grants Number 151 permission to take off. It moves forward from the prestart line. Heider knocks on the tip of the left wing. It is to bring him luck.

The time: 1810 hours. Teetering, Number 151 rolls ahead to take off. A little later Uwe lifts it up off the runway. It seems lighter to him. It follows him faster than usual. Uwe looks in the rearview mirror. The pilot seat in the back is empty. His happiness compels him to look in the mirror a second time to enjoy the feeling to the full: He is flying without an instructor, he is completely in charge of his first jet. In his prescribed flight above the airport he rocks the wings. Everyone must notice him...Again he is preparing to land. Will he succeed in coordinating the altitude and speed of the airplane so as to come close to the ideal angle in his landing course as prescribed by regulations? He only wants to return to earth smoothly. That is what he concentrates on. He brings Number 151 back down. He knows how to fly it.

When he takes off again, the machine appears to be even lighter. He literally feels as if a load has been taken off his heart.

The final 1845 hours. Number 151 returns to the prestart line. Sergeant Heider and a mechanic run to meet it. They push it into its box after the turbine has stopped. Quickly Heider opens the roof of the cockpit and leaps to the folded cover plates. Holding something behind his back, he accosts Uwe, who is climbing out of the aircraft. He congratulates the beaming Uwe warmly and presses a bouquet of nettles into his hand. According to aviator customs the engineer is the first to offer his congratulations and the nettles are to create the right feeling in the hand of the pilot. Thus, too, begins the lifelong marriage between pilot and engineer. There will always be different engineers and mechanics that prepare planes for pilots. Through quality work they gain his trust. Sergeant Heider's initiative at the party convention was and is focused on the third title "Airplane of Excellent Quality." The pilot will have to crown these efforts through his professional achievements, and it was much in evidence right here at the officer college the entire afternoon that the technical personnel is concerned about this special relationship. "We aid the students in understanding the technical aspect of the aircraft. We must above all be on top of the material. We wish to create a relaxed atmosphere and to demonstrate the right attitude toward technology through our fine work!" Thus spoke Sergeant Heider. Officer Candidate Schmidt remarked after his solo flight, "If the engineer is worked up and runs back and forth, it has an effect. You notice it if he shakes while he is pulling the safety device on the floor at the catapult seat or forgets to do so. Then you begin your flight in a nervous state." For his first solo flight in the L39 Albatros jet Officer Candidate Uwe Schmidt clearly earns the grade of 1.

9873

CSO: 2300/332

## OVARI ADDRESSES DEPARTMENTS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, Aug 81 pp 3-10

[Article by Miklos Ovari, member of the Political Committee: "A Convincing Proclaiming of Our Ideals," abbreviated text of a speech given at the 10 September 1981 conference of leaders of university and college departments of Marxism-Leninism]

[Excerpts] What explains the fact that, even with all the problems and cares, we can say that the internal political situation in our homeland is tranquil and balanced? The chief component of this is that we have great political achievements which came into being in past decades, primarily in the years since the counter-revolution. Among these I might mention in first place the policy conducted by the party for 25 years, the fact that in this quarter century politics has not known the earlier zigzags, the right and "left" deviations. Permanence has been realized in the political line of the party which, however, also took cognizance of the social changes and, when necessary, was able to change too. These political achievements include the link between the party and the masses, the sincere, mutual trust which has developed between them, the openness, not least of all that we speak openly of problems and difficulties too.

Another great achievement of these 25 years is the creation, consolidation and stabilization of national unity. I do not want to deny here the problems and cares which exist but what is fundamental is that our nation--and we can say this bravely--was never so united as in the past 1-2 decades. This unity also has objective foundations. Before all else there is the fact that the age of great class clashes has ended in our homeland. There are no classes with antagonistically opposed interests sharply opposed to one another. The socialist political system and the socialist production relationships politically unite every class and working stratum of our society.

In this connection I would touch briefly on the question of what the role of the class struggle is amidst other contemporary relationships. Naturally there is no class struggle in our homeland in the sense that antagonistically opposed classes are fighting with one another. There are no classes, there is no class against which one must fight. In this classical sense there is no class struggle in our homeland, no more or less sharp struggle of different classes. Naturally, there is a class struggle on the international scale and there are still anti-Marxist views which have an effect, there is a struggle between ideologies. We can meet

with various anti-socialist practices; there are errors and mistakes and difficulties in work; but overcoming these does not take place in the framework of a class struggle in the classical sense; this is not the struggle of the worker class against some other class.

Another question is linked to this, our position in connection with the use of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If I take the dictatorship of the proletariat in a narrower sense, in the sense that the proletariat which has come to power exercises a dictatorship against the former ruling classes and uses dictatorial methods to prevent their restoration attempts or exercises a repressive function against the defeated classes--which is necessary, indeed unavoidable, after the victory of the proletarian revolution--then in this sense there is no dictatorship of the proletariat for us. But the dictatorship of the proletariat has a broader meaning too. It has external defense functions and, naturally, this function remains; indeed, its significance increases in a more difficult international situation like the one today. In a certain sense its internal repressive function remains also but it is no longer directed against another class but rather against the anti-socialist or simply anti-social elements still existing in society. It retains its economic organizing and ideological functions, which are naturally indispensable even among present conditions. So we should not hasten to eliminate the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the program statement of our party is valid in the present period also.

Returning to our achievements, the economic foundation of Hungarian society determines the situation of the country in a fundamental way. For some 8 years now our economy has withstood the incredibly great pressure of world market changes, has struggled with the problems deriving from the great world economic changes. Despite all our problems and troubles the Hungarian people's economy has respect, among our socialist friends and western countries alike.

Among our great achievements I would like to mention our ideological and cultural development. There are many daily vexations here; we are dissatisfied with many things in our everyday work. But amidst the many vexations we should not forget that many elements--though certainly not all as yet--of the socialist way of thinking have become parts, natural elements of national thinking. In many cases the dissatisfaction derives from the fact that our practice is not yet sufficiently socialist.

Nor should we forget how much the horizons of the people have expanded in the decades since the liberation. Our people know their own relationships and the situation of the world much better than at any time in the course of our history. Nor should we forget that great cultural uplifting in which the people share, despite every problem and deficiency. Nor should we forget that socialist patriotism and internationalism have become natural elements in the thinking, if not of the whole people, of millions in a country where nationalism, and the most extreme form of it, was crammed down their throats for 25 years.

I would like to deal briefly with the question of how one should judge the situation or public prestige of Marxist ideology today. Here, as in every other question, I suggest the method of a dialectical approach. It is not enough to take a snapshot of the present state of our ideological situation; rather we should examine where we started from, where we have gotten to and where we are going. If we look at the extent to which socialist principles are realized in practice and what



ideological components this has then we can justly say that we still have a lot to do. But if we look at the change in awareness which has taken place in the people realizing that these changes do not follow automatically the transformation of social existence (knowing that a direct following of these changes in awareness is far from a simple thing, how much slower and more difficult it is than we thought earlier) then I believe it certainly is not necessary to be disheartened or judge our present ideological situation with bitterness.

Some are inclined to simplify the development of our ideological life; from this viewpoint they paint a false picture of the 1970's and speak of some sort of general ideological defensive. If we are to take a stand correctly in this question we must ask first of all: What ideal guided and determined our social development in the 1970's? There can be no doubt that it was Marxism-Leninism which guided our entire policy and determined our development. In this sense this ideal was not at all on the defensive.

And yet such an opinion is not entirely unjustified. I am not talking about how many new and difficult questions the 1970's presented in connection with social development and economic and political relationships. The answers to these questions--at the level of ideology--were not born immediately; indeed, no few of them do not exist yet. And this is not a Hungarian peculiarity. Throughout the world it is a problem and a task for the cultivators of Marxist ideology to give, without delay, lastingly valid and convincing answers to these new phenomena. So there are many new ideological problems which we must think upon; we must seek solutions and sooner or later, certainly, we will find them. But it is a fact that in such a complex world our ideology will not give a full and final answer to every new question immediately; this, in itself, should not be regarded as being on the defensive. It should not be because the other side, which according to this conception would have to be on the offensive against us, certainly does not have acceptable, scientific, progressive answers to the questions of the age.

In this connection the question is raised as to why the MSZMP does not start an ideological offensive in the interest of developing and widely spreading socialist morality, when there are so many abuses here. It would be very good if such questions could be solved with an offensive, campaign or "cavalry charge." If they could be then we would certainly start one. But unfortunately these problems cannot be solved in this way. There have been times in our history--and not only our history--when this was tried, and it did not succeed. What is needed here is very tenacious, very patient everyday work conducted in parallel with the transformation of objective relationships. Only this can bring lasting results. So when I say that we do not propose such a campaign-like offensive this does not mean some sort of inactivity. Just the contrary, we are calling for the solution of a much more difficult and complicated task, for long term, diligent and patient work based on dialectic-materialist foundations instead of a one-time charge.

What we say about ideological tasks in general also applies to the development of our historical awareness. Some are inclined to judge this more pessimistically than the reality. What is historical awareness like for us in reality? I can say with conviction that the youth of today know much more about history, about Hungarian history and world history, than any earlier generation. It would be worthwhile to take out sometime the school textbooks used in the past system and see what they taught about Hungarian history then, and what we teach today. I do not say that everything is perfect today but it is certain that the present generation knows the history of our homeland and of the world much better.

It is worth noting that there is a virtual hunger for historical information today. This is not a sign of apathy but just the opposite, that we have aroused interest in historical information. I do not say all this as if there were nothing to do in this area; on the contrary, there are very many tasks, but we should not see a tragedy where none exists.

Another question comes up here: How should we prepare for the hostile ideological campaign in connection with the anniversary of the 1956 counterrevolution? The essence is that we have nothing to be ashamed of and nothing to hide in connection with 1956. So we can tell the truth, not only in the main questions but in the details as well. So the essence and content of our preparation is to speak the truth repeatedly. And this is needed. At the time the party discussed the events openly with virtually the entire population. The questions of principle were thought through again and we have again come to the conclusion that one of the causes of the swift consolidation was that the people were made to understand what had happened, why it happened and what the lessons were. In the meantime, however, a new generation has grown up and almost half of the population has no direct experience, did not live through the great "all people" conversation of that time, did not participate in that personal self-examination which not only every communist but every responsibly thinking citizen went through. So it does no harm to return to these matters.

Let me repeat, we have no reason to be silent, we have nothing to be ashamed of, we have nothing to hide. Of course, we are dealing with this question not only because of the anniversary. The lessons of the 1956 events are essential for us, and all the more so those lessons which we acquired in the 25 years since. Regardless of anniversaries, we must speak more about these lessons in the future, thus aiding the development of historical awareness.

Still sticking with ideological questions, we are frequently reproached because articles with ideologically or politically debatable content appear in various journals. I might add that perhaps more appear than in earlier years. How should we regard this phenomenon? What is most important and what I want to emphasize is that no one need be disturbed by these articles. We are communists, we are Marxists, because we are able to take a stand on a basis of principle under all circumstances. The principled position of the party and those thesis of Marxism which are of significance in principle are not nullified by the appearance of any writing opposed thereto. So we should not be shaken by such things but rather should stick by the Marxist principles and the position of the party. I feel that we can expect the propagandists and teachers of Marxism especially to be able to judge these articles correctly, recognize that in them which deviates from Marxism or the policy of the party and be able to debate with them persuasively and not leave others to be shaken by them.

The same thing applies to various memoirs, which are appearing now in larger numbers from the pens of people who are not Marxists and not communists. These must be regarded as one regards every memoir; they contain the memories of the person involved and naturally they are influenced by the situation of the author at that time and today, by his subjectivity. Their findings do not relieve us of the obligation of doing historical research of scientific value, analyzing and drawing conclusions. A memoir can be regarded as a source of a type, but like every source it must be handled with criticism.

I do not want to defend these--shall we say--unfavorable articles, publications or programs. The increase in the number of them shows that editorial attention and discipline are weakening, as it were, in places and this is not good. It would be better if we had fewer such problems but no one should panic because of this or let it confuse our thinking. And, naturally, it is necessary for the debated and debatable writings to receive a worthy and well argued answer.

Here I would like to speak of the present situation of the religious ideology in our society. I do not believe that people who were materialists earlier are now becoming religious in larger numbers and that the circle of religious people is becoming larger because of that. Something else is involved. The relations of state and church are well ordered in Hungary. The state enjoys the advantages of this, as does the church. The ordered relations are the result of our alliance policy, and the political significance of this is extraordinarily great from the viewpoint of the stability of our internal political situation. The ordered nature of these relations has brought tranquility to many because they are not forced to lead a double life and are not forced to choose between their socialist political convictions and religious faith. In ideological questions, naturally, neither the state nor the church has given up its position and neither side demands this of the other.

I have noted already in several interdependencies why it is that we can say that the internal political situation in the country is tranquil and stable. But in addition, naturally, we also know that there are also effects opposed to this, negative phenomena about which we speak often and openly. The 12th congress spoke of these things also. There are outside effects such as international tension and the anxieties which derive therefrom, and there is imperialist propaganda, which is building up now; some problems of the international situation are disturbing, including the events in Poland. Such unfavorable factors do not necessarily weaken the internal stability for there are a number of examples where difficulties increase cohesiveness.

When examining the effect in Hungary of the events in Poland we can start from the fact that the economic situation, the standard of living, supply, the situation of agriculture, the role of the trade unions and social organizations, the relationship between church and state and, what is most important, the relationship between the party and the masses have developed differently in the two countries. The "Polish example" is not attractive for Hungarian public opinion; on the contrary, one can experience a broad anxiety, largely of internationalist content, for the fate of Polish socialism.

Naturally, we also must deal with the lessons of the events in Poland. Among other things they warn us not to forget the lessons of our own past. But the most important lesson is that the relationship of the party and the masses must be kept right at all times and under all circumstances. Because if this trust is strong then we can solve every problem, even the most difficult. But if this trust is lacking then even the simplest problems can cause great trouble.

Many other circumstances--in addition to those mentioned--influence our internal political life also. One such factor is the development of the standard of living. In general, we can say that the standard of living in Hungary is acceptable. Anxiety can be experienced only in regard to whether this present, acceptable standard of living can be maintained amidst the more difficult world political and world economic conditions. Let me add that we can call the average acceptable, but it is

a property of every average that there are those above it and those below. Some of the latter live in a difficult situation even today and for them, naturally, it is not satisfying if we say that the present standard of living will be maintained. We must reckon with this and the resolution of the 12th congress also states that special attention must be turned--depending on our possibilities--to improving the standard of living of these strata.

Among the influencing effects must be mentioned the development of prices. We have not yet succeeded sufficiently in getting accepted the fact that prices do not depend on our subjective intentions; rather, they are decided by production. Nor have we succeeded completely in eliminating from prices the consequences of bad organization and shoddy work. The practice is not yet widespread enough of trying to counter-balance somewhat the "ripple effect" of price increases by decreasing production costs. We have a double task in this area. In the first place the producers prices and the consumers prices should be realistic. We cannot give this up; we must continue the current price policy. But in the second place greater attention must be devoted to reducing production costs.

Among the problems I would mention the situation of young people starting their careers. I would like to call attention to the fact that this is not simply a material question, although it certainly is that also. The situation of young people starting their careers is never easy, not even if there are no difficult economic conditions. It is not easy to begin an independent life of work; it does make a difference how they are accepted at their new place of work, how they are dealt with, what aid they receive, what examples they see, what the place of work atmosphere is. We should regard it as our task to do everything in the interest of easing their situation in these broader interdependencies according to our possibilities.

Life sometimes requires that we undertake certain unavoidable tensions in the interest of the achievements of today and tomorrow, in the interest of general progress. When, for example, we strive to better implement payment according to work then we must know that this involves unavoidable tension because it means not only that he who works more gets more, it also means that he who works less will get less. This differentiation certainly must be realized and this is not an easy task. Another similar example. We say that we are for full employment, but this does not mean that everyone will have the same job for decades, because there is also a need to regroup manpower. Enterprises, trusts and factories are transformed. All this is a social interest. At the same time it can be directly disadvantageous for some. We must undertake the tensions deriving from this also, naturally keeping in mind that in addition to the priority realization of social interests we must have far-reaching regard for the unique interests of individuals and groups as well.

In addition to such unavoidable tensions which further development there are also avoidable ones. Such tensions are caused by a lack of organization, a lack of discipline, shoddy work, waste and bureaucracy which irritate public opinion because of our mistakes, and we must act with greater determination against them.

Finally, we should repeatedly think about what it means to be a teacher of our propagandist for Marxist ideals today. Before all else it means much study, constantly increasing our knowledge. He cannot teach effectively who does not himself study constantly. In addition it means a permanent aspiration to independent thinking, to solving problems in a creative spirit. It means that we should live closely



with society, with the development of society, because theory and practice cannot be separated. We must be well acquainted with the students with their joys and cares, creating an atmosphere in which it is natural for them to turn first of all to the teachers and propagandists with their questions of an ideological-political nature.

Before all else a strong Marxist conviction is necessary if we are to do this. It is no less important that we always have sufficient patience to listen to people and never grudge the time to give well argued, sincere answers to questions. Teaching the ideals of Marx and Lenin should not be a matter of lecturing in the bad sense of the word, a matter of demanding recitation, it should be a sensible dialogue of adult people. The measure of the effectiveness of our activity as instructors is not the grades but rather how many people we win to our ideals, to our policy, to the cause of socialism. Basic knowledge, a convincing proclaiming of the truth of our ideals, political and principled courage, human behavior and providing an example--these are the fundamental aspects of our activity as instructors in the school year now begun also.

8984

CSO: 2500/23

## REPORT ON PLENUM OF ZNP-EDUCATION MAIN BOARD

## Report on Plenum

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 7 Dec 80 pp 3, 9

[Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On 27 November 1980, a plenary meeting of the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] Education and Upbringing Employees Main Board convened. The meeting was devoted to the discussion of ZNP's current tasks and organizational matters. In this issue of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI we publish the report delivered by the vice chairman of the ZNP Main Board, Stanislaw Grzesniak, and the resolution by the plenary meeting. Discussion [of the report] will be published in the next issue because of technical reasons. Kazimierz Pilat, acting chairman of the ZNP Main Board, presided. Deputy head of the Department of Science and Education of the PZPR Central Committee, Wladyslaw Kata, and the Minister of Education and Upbringing, Kryzstof Kryszewski, were invited guests at the meeting.

## Activity of the Union Since the 13th National Convention of ZNP Delegates

The period after the 13th convention has not brought about internal stabilization in our union. On the contrary, it has exacerbated difficulties and tensions. This is why we must search for answers to the same questions that were posed at the convention. The questions boil down to what to do and how to act in order to overcome the internal crisis in our organization, and to create conditions for its smooth functioning in a new situation and in a new fashion.

In a very short period of time before the next convention of delegates we must meet very difficult challenges important for the future of our union. The challenges are outlined as follows in a message sent by the Presidium of the Main Board to the ZNP elements and plant councils in the sphere of education and upbringing: the achievement of a pronounced perceptible progress in the implementation of the most essential and most acute demands of the education and upbringing employees, holding of truly democratic elections to the leadership of the union on the basis of a new statute, raising the efficiency of the activity of the union as a representative and spokesman for interests of employees and a defender of the rights of employees, substantial and organizational preparation for the 14th ZNP Convention and the elaboration of draft amendments and additions to the action program of the union for the years 1980-1983 and to the provisional ZNP statute.

However, we must first of all aggressively continue on the path of renovating the style and methods of union activity, carrying out recommendations and demands of the teachers, of strengthening the permanent bases of our organization's authority and influence, of rebuilding undermined confidence, of serving the cause of cooperation of both employee trade unions. Let us admit it openly, the union life of teachers is in need of strong restorative measures, and at the same time of an efficient defense against the attempts to weaken our already frail union organism (...)

/The union's action program adopted by the convention has, in general, been positively received. Its content takes into action vital wage, social and professional problems of employees, retirees and pensioners. This program should provide the basis for the elaboration of local action programs, as concrete as possible, geared to the needs of particular union elements and employee groups./

In their 6-week-long activity so far, the Presidium and Secretariat of the ZNP Education and Upbringing Employees Main Board have concentrated on several of the most pressing social and professional issues. According to the opinions of membership and of the ZNP echelons, expressed in the form of demands and recommendations, we have considered the following to be among such issues: a defacto increase of expenditures in the cost of living adjustment, a wage increase for the education and upbringing employees and the revalorization of retirement and disability benefits as formulated in the guidelines of the 13th convention.

We have also demanded that the length of workweek for teachers be reduced, that inclusion of the plant compensation fund be started, that anniversary payments and seniority wage bonuses be introduced, that salary advancements occur every 2 years until retirement age is reached, that the housing and health care situation of education employees, retirees and pensioners be improved, that financial and social incentives for teachers in rural areas be introduced, that facilities for education-related construction and construction of housing for teachers be assured, and that school equipment and supplies be improved. We have also stressed the necessity of suspending the structural reform of the educational system in view of the concurrent revision of programs and teaching plans and the need to amend the Charter of the Teacher's Rights and Responsibilities.

Having adopted the method of negotiation, the leadership of the ZNP Main Board has presented the above requirements and demands in successive talks with the minister of education and upbringing, the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, the ministerial vice premier, the minister of labor, wages and social issues and twice with the Presidium of the Sejm Standing Commission of Education and Upbringing. The authorities have shown good appreciation of our problems. In the course of the talks, we have obtained binding assurances on some issues; other issues will be considered and settled gradually (...)

Concurrently with our presentations and lobbying the talks went on in Gdansk between the ZNP representatives and the ministerial-voivodship commission. During these talks, postulates of the teachers and employees of education and upbringing were considered. They were similar to the recommendations and

postulates voiced elsewhere in the country and declared both before and during the 13th National Convention of Delegates and in thousands of letters sent to the Main Board and to the ministry.

Separate talks were simultaneously underway in Gdansk between the ministerial-voivodship commission and representatives of NSZZ Solidarity education and upbringing employees. A breakdown in these talks caused the decision to begin a sit-down strike in the hall of the Voivodship Office on 7 November 1980.

This protest action spread to other parts of the country and activity of schools was disrupted. The intention in some cities was to draw children and youth into this action (...)

Though not accepting, in principle, the strike as a method of solving pressing educational and labor issues, we decided to join the action of protest and posted slogans and inscriptions on our union's buildings calling for the implementation of our demands. Simultaneously, we sent a message to the prime minister, in which we again demanded that the demands of ZNP be implemented and expressed our support for the protesting teachers on the coast. However, we took an unfavorable attitude toward the participation of children and youth in this justified protest, considering that the teachers should not organize actions that can ultimately cause harm in upbringing which would be difficult to undo.

The signing on 17 November 1980 of an agreement between the government commission and the NSZZ Solidarity commission and, on the same date, of a protocol of resolutions regarding the demands of the teachers and education and upbringing employees that were offered to the government commission in Gdansk by the ZNP elements of Gdansk voivodship were met with deep satisfaction by the education employees.

It should be mentioned that, according to the wish of ZNP membership in Gdansk, the Main Board participated in the final stage of the talks, which took place in the ZNP building on 15-17 November. Putting its signature to the protocol, the ZNP Education and Upbringing Employees Main Board assumed the responsibility to oversee and take part in its implementation (...)

/Satisfaction caused by the signing of both protocols is due to the fact that important and pressing issues have been settled, that the base on which to build the future of education has been created, that the environment that facilitates genuine and not token upgrading of the social importance of the teacher's work has appeared.

We think that we have made our contribution to the settling of these issues, despite refraining from the most drastic forms of pressure and not making much ado, which on many occasions has worked against the union. It grieves us that emotions still prevail over deliberation and common sense, that they obscure the true image of the problems and obstruct their gradual settlement. It worries us that in a situation of deep economic crisis only the use of drastic methods brings about the achievement of just, socially accepted goals./

The present situation inside the trade union movement is unusually complex and it is equally so in our educational group. Its schism, which became a reality in October 1980, now determines the activity of all trade unions and causes the formation of two trade union centers: the class movement of industrial branch unions and the NSZZ Solidarity movement which was born in the justified protest of the working class.

Solidarity as a regional organization taking over the representation of interests of particular professional groups has secured full opportunity to participate in the shaping of the country's socioeconomic life and to influence decision-making which concerns the conditions of life of the working man.

At the same time, the so-called old trade unions, persistently looking for new avenues, overcoming internal crises, guarding their autonomy and independence, working out democratic forms of interbranch cooperation are developing considerable activity in the interest of unionized professional groups and adhering to the basis of reality and opportunities of the national economy. They are effectively aided by the Coordination Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions in carrying out their statutory activities. This is a body based on partnership, consisting of union representatives and appointed to work out a stand that will be in the interest of all branches, especially on issues such as wage policy, analysis of the cost of living, social benefits, social security, care of retirees and pensioners, industrial safety and hygiene [bhp] conditions, and cooperation with the international trade union movement.

The commission is not another Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ]; it functions on the principle of full autonomy and respects the right to a separate stand by each branch union. It does not exercise authority or executive power over the unions, does not force its stand on them. The Polish Teachers' Union of Education and Upbringing Employees participates in its activity as an observer, whereas fraternal Union of Employees of Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions has declined cooperation with the commission.

Given the multiplicity of organizational structures in the trade union movement, finding common ground for broad cooperation at the country and branch levels is a basic issue. This is a vital problem for our profession as well, where there are two unions: ZNP and the NSZZ Solidarity of Employees of Science and Upbringing.

The question of ZNP's opinion of NSZZ Solidarity has been posed since the advent of this movement. We have answered it positively, for example, during the 13th National Convention of Delegates, by giving the floor to Solidarity's representative. The present leadership of the Main Board also comes out in favor of cooperation in the name of common interests of the education employees and of matters of national education. We think that rivalry which is somehow natural when two trade union movements exist might provide an incentive for activities benefiting the schools, teachers and the remaining employees of education.



Unfortunately, so far there have been no signs of the desire to cooperate. On the contrary, our Union is subject to unprecedented attacks, slander, defamation and, at times, extreme negation of its achievements and accomplishments. It is painful that the aggressive action of NSZZ Solidarity, an otherwise positive feature, is directed against trade union officials, indeed, against an entire trade union organization with an aim to undercut its evident accomplishments. A question must be asked: in whose interest does that lie?

We reiterate once more: we are ready to cooperate in all matters related to the interests of the employees of education and upbringing. However, this cooperation should not be accompanied by mutual haggling, an unending "roller coaster" of demands and postulates and pursuit of cheap popularity. It cannot be accompanied by liquidation drives and mutual prejudice. There are plenty of unsettled issues in the development of education and in the status of employees that make a successful solution impossible to find through confrontation. The difference between us does not lie in the goals, which are common for all teachers, but in the methods of their expression and implementation.

We are well disposed towards our colleagues from NSZZ Solidarity, which we expressed in our statement made during its legalization. However, we think that mutual relations should be shaped on the principles of partnership, dialogue and cooperation. They should extend to all basic problems of employees, since this is in the vital interest of the teaching profession, of education and upbringing. This cooperation should, however, lean on full respect for the law, with full respect for the independence and equality of the unions and recognition of ZNP as the only proprietor empowered by law to own assets accumulated over 75 years. It should take into account the fact that leaving the union organization, surrendering the membership card and failure to pay union dues cancel the right to use the assets of the organization as well as the rights and privileges which the members enjoy./

Stretching out a friendly hand to the teachers-members of NSZZ Solidarity, we are led not only by a feeling of realism and the wish to act in unity, but also by the deep conviction that educational and labor interests are common and that they can be best easily destroyed by mutual fighting and false competition.

Unfortunately, we must regretfully inform the members of the Main Board that on 24 November 1980 we received a negative response from the Coordination Commission of the Employees of Upbringing and Education of NSZZ Solidarity in the matter of establishing cooperation. We think, however, that the unwillingness of the Solidarity leadership to cooperate will not hamper the de facto cooperation of its locals with the elements of ZNP. We also sincerely hope that the next few weeks will bring the stabilization of union memberships and that at last common sense will prevail over emotions./

The situation is currently shaping up unfavorably for our union. We have not overcome the crisis of confidence. Recent events and the associated signing of agreements unjustly regarded by the teachers as the success of NSZZ Solidarity alone, have brought about a further decrease of our membership.

The Gdansk agreement on the issue of wages has certainly caused, among teachers and ZNP officials, a deeply felt bitterness and disappointment. We share their disenchantment and frustration. It was aggravated by the media which provided coverage solely to Solidarity. Officials of ZNP have a justified grievance against the highest political and state authorities, in that their interventions and lobbying over many years and the agreements obtained by the leadership of the union in recent weeks have been credited to somebody else.

With pleasure we receive letters from teachers, and also from Solidarity members, approving of our actions aimed at exacting the demands of ZNP. However, with a sense of deep disappointment we must state that citizen prime minister has not been willing so far to respond to the letter published in GLOS NADZYBIELSKI. Instead, he sent to Gdansk a Government Commission, which signed what had been negotiated with us by his two deputies-vice prime ministers and two ministers (...).

It fills us with pain to learn that at the 15th anniversary of our class union the argument of brutal force is decisive in the socialist state in successfully and efficiently settling acute social issues that have grown serious over many years. Though we still consider that strikes are incompatible with the dignity of teachers and instructors, we will make use of this measure in exacting the benefits and rights which are due us if other methods fail.

Fellow comrades, I am aware that strikes under present conditions cause considerable economic losses which are felt by everyone, that they aggravate social tensions, promote a feeling of insecurity, disorganize the country, exacerbate chaos and open the door to anarchy. We will, however, oppose the opportunistic approach of authorities and their foot-dragging in matters of education, in meeting just demands and demands of the employees by using, if need be, this form of protest by teachers, which is most drastic in its consequences.

Under these circumstances, the program development and election campaign now underway in the elements of ZNP undoubtedly is one of the most difficult in the history of the union. It is no exaggeration to state that, to a considerable degree, it might decide the fate of the organization, make possible the self-determination of our undecided colleagues, and enable us to determine the numerical strength of the union membership.

The campaign requires that the active union membership act vigorously and decisively and with deliberation and responsibility. We expect the active membership to show common sense and courage and to defend vehemently their organization and its good name. We expect the membership to identify fully with their organization, to accept consciously the responsibility for its future and to support its activity with vigor.

/During the campaign we expect the membership to have their say about possible amendments to the statute, to express their opinion and to pass recommendations concerning the union's tasks and goals, the forms and methods of its activity and its organizational structure. The action program for the years 1980-1983 should also be discussed./

The campaign should also be used for a comprehensive and deep discussion of reform in education. It will enable us to define the final stand of the union on the system of education and upbringing. On a preliminary basis, we favored its postponement until adequate financial, housing and cadre conditions are created in schools. At the same time, we proposed to continue the work on changes in programs and instruction plans with an eye to a detailed verification of their content. Therefore, it is necessary to further accumulate opinions and recommendations on the shape of systemic changes and proposals of partial solutions.

Concurrently with the program development and election campaign, we must take vigorous action aimed at efficient and smooth settlement of current labor problems at all levels of our organizational structure. There should not be a single unsettled issue and intervention not undertaken, or case with assistance unprovided. This is our primary responsibility as a trade union. This should not be obscured by the election campaign or the current organizational scramble. We must keep close to teachers and employees and know their problems. We must, simply put, prove ourselves in action every day. This is the linchpin of our credibility, the argument that may speak in our favor and may influence the decision on affiliation with the trade union.

The Main Board will continue the talks with the ministry [of education] on the social and professional problems of education and upbringing employees. The agreements signed so far do not exhaust the list of problems. There are issues which require further discussions and resolutions. Before mid-December of this year, a detailed implementation plan for the ZNP Action Program for the years 1980-1983 will be developed. After its endorsement by the Main Board it will be transmitted to the minister of education and upbringing for signing.

We have also begun work on the amendments to the Charter of Rights and Responsibilities of the Teacher, which is conducted independently by both the ministry and the union. The Main Board today appoints a commission in charge of amending the Charter, which will study the proposals put forth in the letters of education and upbringing employees, retirees and pensioners and also the demands put before the 13th Convention of ZNP. They will be the point of departure for talks and agreements with the ministry.

The outlined scope of tasks undertaken since the convention does not exhaust the agenda of issues tackled regularly by the Bureau of the Main Board and its volvodship chapters.

In presenting on behalf of the Presidium this report and by outlining the issues and work which is awaiting us in the near future, we want to repeat the question we asked in the introduction: what to do and how to act in the future? We expect an answer from our colleagues. Have we chosen the right path? Is our posture the proper one? We ask you to recommend the course of action which we, in your opinion, must stress in accordance with the interests of the union and the present circumstances. We are soliciting your opinion as that of the highest authority in the union that is responsible for guiding the organization. You know the present situation and the mood of the membership better by virtue of being teachers and instructors and the union officials who are in everyday contact with the employees. We are expecting answers in this field.



Together we must find a way to overcome the present difficulties and to retain our membership and the assets of the union. Resolutions that will be passed today will provide the base and the guidelines for the Presidium and the Secretariat in their further activity. For you, they will become the position of the Main Board which we must implement together.

report given by:

Stanislaw Grzesniak

#### Resolution of Plenum

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 7 Dec 80 p 3

[Text] The Main Board of the Polish Teachers' Union that represented the education and upbringing employees, at its meeting on 17 November 1980, after acquainting itself with the current activity of the union and conducting a wide discussion, approves the course of action taken after the 13th National Convention as proper and being in the interest of education employees, retirees and pensioners.

The Main Board takes notice of and approves the content of the agreements reached within the framework of talks of the Secretariat of the ZNP Education and Upbringing Employees Main Board with the minister of education and upbringing, ministerial vice premier, chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, minister of labor, wages and social issues and also with the Presidium of the Sejm Standing Commission on Education and Upbringing.

The Main Board adopts the elaborated plan of the program development and election campaign for the echelons and elements of ZNP and treats it as an important factor of renewal and democratization of the intra-organization life.

Having positively evaluated the activity of the Presidium and the Secretariat in the period in question, the ZNP Education and Upbringing Employees Main Board obligates all the echelons and elements to:

--smoothly conduct the program development and election campaign in accordance with the ZNP statute;

--introduce amendments and additions to the action program of ZNP for the years 1980-1983 based on the recommendations and demands made after the 13th National Convention of ZNP;

--prepare, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, before 15 December 1980, an implementation plan for the action program of ZNP adopted by the 13th National Convention of Delegates of ZNP;

--prepare an implementation plan for the action program of ZNP in the remaining elements of educational administration;

--participate actively in the preparation before 31 March 1981 of a governmental program of upgrading the wage and social conditions of education and upbringing employees, retirees and pensioners, according to the protocol of understanding signed on 17 November 1980 by the Commission of ZNP and the Commission of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing;

--have ZNP Education and Upbringing Employees participate in the Coordination Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions (BZZ) for 6 months;

--establish cooperation with the Trade Union of Cultural and Arts Employees (ZZPKS) and the Trade Union of Health Care Service Employees (ZZPSZ).

The ZNP Education and Upbringing Employees Main Board expresses its grave concern with the deepening economic crisis, anarchization of social life, further escalation of demands, violations of law under the pretext of fight for the democratization and renewal of social relations. It demands that decisive action be undertaken in order to restore the normal political and economic life of our country.

The Main Board lodges a categorical protest against the toleration by the authorities of acts of lawlessness whereby, among other things, NSZZ Solidarity takes possession of installations which are the property of the branch trade unions.

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CSO: 2600/8

## IMPACT OF HIGHER SCHOOL REFORM ON VOCATIONAL TRAINING DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26-27 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Karas: "On the Back Burner of Education"]

[Text] The vocational school system is a fundamental part of the Polish school system. Nearly 80 percent of the graduates of elementary schools enroll each year at the 8,000 vocational training schools which offer courses in more than 500 occupations and specialties. The majority of occupationally active workers and foremen have received training in various kinds of vocational schools. Many engineers and industrial managers have also completed these schools.

Despite its indisputable contributions to education and upbringing, the vocational school system is, in my opinion, relegated to a secondary plane by not only public discussions about education but also the interests of educational theorists. Educators of such rank as Tadeusz Lewowicki, Heliodor Muszynski, Wincenty Okon, Bogdan Suchodolski, Ryszard Wroczynski, and others, comment and publish little on the subject of vocational education. Of the known educational theorists only Kazimierz Czarnecki, Henryk Gasiar, Stanislaw Kaczor, Tadeusz W. Nowacki, and Zygmunt Wiatrowski devote entirely or partially their works to vocational schools and training. These, however, are a small group and, by the nature of things, their voice on such issues is relatively unheard publicly. Most educational publications deal with the problems of academic elementary and secondary schools.

Educational publicists, too, show no great interest in the problems of vocational education in general and vocational schools in particular. Major articles on this topic published recently in the weeklies and central dailies can be counted on the fingers of one hand. And yet this should not be so.

We are on the eve of the Sejm debate on the future of the entire Polish education. Many assumptions indicate that in the next few years the current school system, including the vocational school system as well, as based on the 8-year elementary school, will be functioning. It is thus high time to start considering the future of this school system and eliminating its actual ailments.

And there is much to be desired as regards this system. First of all, there is the scanty interest taken by educational theory in vocational education in general and basic vocational schools in particular. Although a majority of the universities and higher teacher training schools is doing more or less advanced research

in the organization, programs, and functioning of these schools, in reality only the Institute for Vocational Training (IKZ) is carrying out comprehensive research in vocational training. As for the question whether and to what degree are the results of all that research being utilized by in the work of the administrators and teachers at vocational schools, that is a separate issue.

This issue merits separate treatment and I shall not dwell on it in my article. A major shortcoming of basic vocational schools is the inadequate state of their workshop facilities, which are mostly technically obsolete. School shops usually are equipped with old, worn machinery and equipment which no longer are fit for use in industrial plants. As a result, graduates of Basic Vocational Schools (ZSZ) must receive subsequent on-the-job plant training in operating up-to-date machinery and equipment. This compounds the adaptation problems of youth and causes the social prestige of these schools to suffer. This also problems with the selection of pupils for these schools, which engender the educationally negative recruiting drives among schools of the same profile but under different ministries.

The difficult situation of the vocational schools is probably compounded by the organizational and curriculum changes introduced at ZSZ at the beginning of the 1981/1982 school year. Weekly instruction time has been shortened to 5 days. As a result the number of hours set aside for practical training has been restricted. Within the 3-year cycle of instruction in curator schools practical training has been reduced from 3 to 2 days a week which is far from sufficient from the standpoint of the effective job training. No one will learn a trade in such a short period of time: this is physically impossible. This change removes much of the vocational nature of vocational schools, with job lecturing replacing job training.

Moreover, public discussions about vocational schools often include the view that the scope of instruction in the humanities at these schools should be further enlarged. For example, historians already are arguing that the 3 hours weekly of instruction in history that have been introduced at ZSZ are too little, that they should be increased. Similarly, Polonists demand that the number of hours of instruction in the Polish language at vocational schools be increased. If these and other demands are accepted, ZSZ will cease to fulfill their specified purposes and aims and will in reality become academic schools.

And yet the vocational school system should provide the economy with, above all, properly trained skilled workers and experts--who, of course, also have a broad academic background.

This is the basic purpose of the vocational schools, and this should be the goal. The dilution of the curriculum plans and their further "humanization" at the expense of job training may result in graduates of vocational schools not knowing how to work. Such will probably be the effect of the pressures for changes in these schools being exerted by all kinds of publicists, activists, and even scholars who have personally long since been near a vocational school or school workshop and, in their ignorance, propose changes that would cause these schools to no longer serve their vocational training purposes.

The origin of these proposals dates back to the 1960s when, owing to the intense propaganda waged by certain groups of educators and certain educational politicians, the public became imbued with the conviction that the only true education is an academic education and that vocational education is something marginal, designed for incompetent pupils who are not good enough for academic schools. This attitude was partially affirmed in the famous educational report by specialists in 1972, which indicated that vocational education is not a genuine kind of education and hence the educational advancement of society can occur only through the mediation of academic schools.

Actually, however, as confirmed by true experts on educational systems, the Polish academic schools are completely different from their other European counterparts, because they are impermissibly isolated from practical life. Soviet, East German, or Czechoslovak schools set aside 4, 6, or even 8 hours of practical-technical exercises weekly, whereas in Polish schools only 2 hours are allotted for this purpose. Moreover, some Polish schools do not practice these exercises owing to lack of facilities.

The fact is that vocational education in this country is partially stood upon its head, so to speak, as indicated by the following information as well. In West European countries vocational education takes at least 3 years--and in some trades, 4. And what 3 years: 5 days of job training at the plant each week plus 1 day of theoretical training at the school. In Poland, on the other hand, pupils used to receive 3 days of job training and 3 days of theoretical training each week, and as of the 1981/1982 school years job training will be reduced to 2 days a week. Would the graduates of our vocational school have skills equal to those of the graduates of such schools in any West European or socialist country? Can it be said that our graduate will know as much as the graduate of a vocational school in another country?

Of course, the answer is no. To avoid any misunderstandings, let me hasten to say that I do not advocate that our vocational schools should train so-called robots lacking any broader mental horizons. On the other hand, I believe that vocational subjects include academic aspects that are of major humanistic value. After all, instruction in vocational subjects can include instruction in the history of technology and even in the history of one's own country. And is not the advancement of job skills an element of academic education? Is not the understanding of technical problems an element of humanistic education? It is, of a certainty: the only problem is the desire and ability to teach so that elements of academic and humanistic knowledge in vocational subjects could be extracted and demonstrated.

There is one other issue. The new economic reform will probably reduce the interest of manufacturing plants in vocational training. There already exist signals that the enterprises converting to cost-effective operation will be unwilling to defray the cost of maintaining in-plant schools, and will want to transfer these schools to the aegis of the Ministry of Education.

This is an extremely dangerous trend so far as vocational education is concerned. Vocational schools whose bonds with enterprises are severed will experience financial problems as well as problems in finding on-the-job training for their pupils,



and in obtaining raw materials and workshop machinery and equipment for training purposes, work clothing for the pupils, etc. And all the concerned parties will be losers: the enterprises, because they will receive more and more inadequately trained workers whose on-the-job adaptation will be more difficult; the schools, because they will suffer permanent financial, material, and equipment problems; and the pupils, because their role will be reduced from that of co-managers of plants and members of worker collectives to that of plan executors or menial assistants--they will be treated as dispensable workers, as nuisances.

And what is it all for? Are innovations of this kind really needed in vocational education? Must Poles really learn the hard way?

I have pointed to only a few probable dangers to the whole of training in vocational education. These dangers are well-known to and understood by the more enlightened educators and plant managers.

On my part, I wish to state that the main purpose of vocational education is to provide skilled personnel for industry, services, and other fields of the national economy--personnel with the most adequate academic background possible but above all also with the highest vocational training possible. This is the essential purpose of vocational education, and it should be neither radically changed nor an object of embarrassment. I am convinced that the recent restrictions on the number of hours of job training will produce grave effects on the quality of vocational training. The graduates will be people who are able to talk about work and to debate it ardently but who do not know how to work.

1386

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## ROMANIA

### PARTY MEMBERS CHARGED WITH DISHONESTY, ABUSE OF POWER

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Sep 81 pp 83-89

[Unsigned article: "Beyond Appearances the Hand of Dishonesty and Abuse is Extended"]

[Text] Communists do not have separate rights, they do not have any type of privileges. They have additional duties which they have consciously assumed - of being in the first ranks in the struggle for the building of socialism and communism and for the triumph of the spirit of justice and equity. This is one of truths having dozens of echoes in their awareness and behavior, as frequently stressed by the secretary general of the party. For the party and state activist having great responsibilities in the leadership of society, these truths have completely special meaning and a separate significance. Working as a revolutionary militant, he carries out his mission in this militant quality and, so that anyone can openly see his and in order to have a solid moral support, it is absolutely necessary for him to be a model for behavior in work and in life and under all circumstances to adhere to the rigors of the norms for ethics and equity, norms which he spreads among others and in which he believes.

In fight to embed these norms in the workers' work and behavior means fighting so that they can be transformed, first of all, into virtues of their own activities. The acts committed by Ion Predescu, the former first vice president of the Rm. Vilcea Municipal People's Council, attest to the fact that he was not even slightly influenced by this belief.

Benefitting from the nearly total absence of control over his own activities, I. Predescu committed reprovable acts of dishonesty, receiving bribes of 17,500 lei and other goods from various persons for whom he facilitated the assignment of housing from the state housing fund. This is the only way one can explain how he managed to accept bribes for 200 apartments from the state fund, apartments assigned by him using criteria and standards other than those contained in the laws. Meanwhile, some families with children, that have a right to be assigned an apartment, were so brutally deprived of this right, with others illegally receiving undeserved housing by way of material and financial favors given to the one who handed out state property as he wished.

It is clear that the existing cracks in the exercise of control over the activities of those cadre who have been given responsibilities have favored and stimulated the appetite to acquire wealth in those assigned to oversee the proper administration and management of state housing. But, the principal blame falls on I. Predescu himself who challenged the trust placed in him, personally benefitting in all kinds of ways on the basis of the position that he held and bringing serious damage to party and state work and the moral integrity of activists.

On the basis of a atmosphere of tolerance and inadmissible indulgence, the "small" temptations of the former first vice president - the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages, spending his free time in the company of certain people who played games of chance - became authentic vices, not to mention the "tab" that he opened for himself at the restaurant where he ate and where he owed, at one time, 9,000 lei.

Although these shortcomings in his behavior were known, they were easily passed over and their seriousness minimized, as was noted in the evaluation given in the meeting with the county party committee active. There also were many letters and reports addressed to the county party committee which truly brought to light the deeds committed by Predescu. Thus, in the general workers meeting at the Drilling Enterprise the problem of housing was raised in the sense that, although the collective had been assigned 40 apartments, only 9 had been actually turned over. The explanation given in this situation and in many other similar ones by the first vice president was nearly believable: the housing construction plan had not been fulfilled. Using this argument as an excuse, he covered up his crimes.

But, when he was asked to help those who were ready to give him some small "consideration" in solving their housing problem, he no longer took into consideration the fact that the plan had not been fulfilled. Under such conditions, this argument no longer existed. How could he resist a manager from Ciineni who had a house there, the poor guy, who was ready at any time to thank the one who could help him buy another house in the county seat? Even if he were aware that it is illegal, he nonetheless could not miss the opportunities being offered to set things up, to get certain profits from them. Such was the case with D. Cirstea of Govora, for whom he purely and simply fought to receive an apartment in Rm. Vilcea, although he knew full-well that his man had a house in the town of Petrisor and in 1980 had sold a house in the town of Ionesti.

From this to accepting unscrupulously certain sums of money from those persons impatient to receive apartments ahead of their co-citizens signed up on the enterprises' priority lists, there was but one single step. And, naturally, those who were able to offer large sums of money had a better chance to more quickly receive their housing. This was the case of Angela Dobos who, having such an advantage over the other residents in Rm. Vilcea, succeeded in obtaining not one, but two apartments - one for herself and one for her brother-in-law.

It is true that a group of circumstances favored and encouraged the abuses and illegal acts committed by I. Predescu.

As was also stressed at the meeting of the county party committee active, one of the responsibilities for the abuses of the first vice president of the municipal people's council falls upon comrade Gheorghe Stoica, the first vice president of the county people's council, who did not exercise a rigorous control over the activities being carried out and did not pursue how the provisions of the law in this area were being respected, as he admitted himself in his speech.

To this we can add the equally serious fact that in the bureau and secretariat of the municipal party committee the principle of collective work and leadership did not operate with the necessary vigor and exigency from the moment the responsibility for resolving the workers' requests for housing was left to one person. Basically, both the municipal party committee and some of the party committees in the enterprises did not follow up on the assignment of each apartment that was completed and that should have been assigned in accordance with the provisions of the law. More, showing a total lack of responsibility with regards to the manner in which state housing was being assigned, the workers' councils in the Olt-Defileu TCH Construction Site Group, the Enterprise for Chemical Equipment and Forging, the Chemical Combine and the State Commercial Enterprise for Public Food Supply, as well as the County Union of Consumer Cooperatives, easily declined a number of apartments, in this manner creating the opportunity for these housing units to be at the mercy of Predescu.

Moreover, even the County Enterprise of Community and Housing Administration, the rightful administrator of the state housing fund, sometimes avoided the law by concluding contracts for rent outside the legal regulations.

The question, however, comes up: how did the county party committee's control operate? As was stressed at the meeting of the party active, some blame falls on the bureau and secretariat of the county party committee, which did not exercise an effective control filled with responsibility over one of the fields of such a great importance, such as assigning housing from the state property fund. Despite the fact that there were some letters that stated that Predescu was accepting money for the assignment of housing and although some abuses were known without the necessary measures being taken to verify the accuracy of the reports and the proportions and seriousness of the acts, the secretariat of the county party committee was satisfied merely to point these out to Predescu, as if all this constituted a small accident in his behavior, as if these acts could be easily overlooked.

This even constituted a reason for the absence of control. Although there were attempts to have a control at some party committees and they participated in some actions, the party organization section of the county party committee did not

succeeded in penetrating the basic problems of the activities of the county people's council, feeling that if the first secretary of the county party committee is also the president of the county people's council and three secretaries are also vice presidents it would not be necessary to carry out a systematic control.

The existence of deficiencies in the organization and carrying out of a control over the activities of certain leadership cadre favored abuses in another area as well. The investigations undertaken have confirmed the practice of the abusive accumulation of funds for certain sport activities, especially for soccer. Thus, comrade Gheorghe Stoica, in his position as first vice president of the executive committee of the county people's council, called the leaders of certain enterprises and institutions, asking them to collect certain sums of money from the workers in order to help the team that plays division "A" soccer. In this manner, they accumulated a sum of 23,000 lei. Similarly, these practices were not foreign to comrade Constantin Coca, a secretary of the municipal party committee, who for a long time was involved in the coordination of the activities of the "Chimia" Sports Club.

Thus, instead of carrying out a permanent, encompassing control over the activities of the cadre with responsibilities and expressing firmness and intransigence with regards to any tendencies of abuse as a result of positions held, an atmosphere was created that was friendly and tolerant of certain illegalities.

Only after the receipt of several reports addressed to the party leadership were severe measures taken that restored their legal rights and that broke this wave of indulgence and passivity with regards to serious acts of dishonesty. Thus, for the abuses and illegalities committed, I. Predescu was stripped of this position and turned over to the organs of justice, and the municipal party committee decided to exclude him from the municipal party committee and from the ranks of party members.

Similarly, on the basis of the conclusions stemming from the investigations carried out, it was established that comrades Gh. Stoica and C. Coca will be punished with a "vote of censure with a warning."

The illegalities and abuses committed in Vilcea County once again show the consequences of an extremely defective style of personnel work and the lack of a permanent, firm and encompassing control capable of preventing any tendencies for abuse.

This is the reason for the imperative need to draw the maximum conclusions regarding the manner in which the activities and the behavior of cadre are pursued and effectively known for the purpose of effectively intervening prior to the time that attempts to acquire fortunes become flagrant certainties.

### A Merry-Go-Round of Unprincipled Relations and Illegalities

"The fact is confirmed that in the unit certain cadre were employed and promoted in different positions who are close relatives of the party committee secretary," states one of the conclusions, with the weight of a verdict, contained in the report carried out at the Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration in Cimpulung-Moldovenesc in Suceava County. "A brother - chief of the mechanization office; his wife - office chief; a brother-in-law - workshop chief; another brother employed in the thermal power station and a sister employed in the laboratory" - this is the unusual balance attained by Dumitru Tudoreanu during the period he held the position of party committee secretary, a position which he abused in order to find jobs for his relatives in enterprises.

Strongly marked by such concerns that have nothing in common with the principled nature and rigors of socialist legalities and that cast a shadow over all other responsibilities, the party committee secretary did his utmost in order to serve his relatives as well as possible... placed, as is known, as close as possible to him. And, overcome with these efforts, he became concessive and tolerant with regards to the behavior of his newly promoted relatives, as well as to that of other cadre. Thus, for example, profiting from the job he held, Toader Tudoreanu, the chief of the mechanization office and the brother of the party committee secretary, proposed in a session of the workers council, and the council approved, the unjustified removal of the chief of the workshop, engineer Vasile Bucse, replacing him with a junior engineer, a brother-in-law of... Toader Tudoreanu.

Therefore, it was not enough that the party secretary surrounded himself with relatives, but, for their part, they felt the need to extend... a hand to their relatives, bringing them into the enterprise like their own feudal system so that once put into motion the merry-go-round of unprincipled relatives could not even be stopped by the one who had started it. Under the management of one who favored promotion, Toader Tudoreanu built a central heating boiler for his home using materials taken from the enterprise, and he procured heating elements from the Frasin construction site belonging to the Bucharest Mining Construction and Assembly Trust with prior filling out the legal forms and paying the 8,766 lei for them.

Not having the moral support necessary for intervening and bringing to justice those management personnel who were committing different illegalities, the party committee secretary preferred to close his eyes, assuming a tolerant position so that the pyramid of his family would not be shaken. The director of the enterprise, Viorel Posa, in addition to the abuses committed in 1977 regarding the construction of a private home, pocketed the undeserved sum of 4,872 lei during the period 1978-1979 for teaching certain classes at the Geology Department at the University of Iasi during his normal work hours at the enterprise, with Posa being tolerant of acts of indiscipline among his subordinates and lacking the authority and prestige of an authentic political leader.



Under these circumstances, the party committee secretary no longer struggled to place party work on an efficient course and to bring about the firm exercise of the right to control administrative management activities. Thus, the fact is explained that neither the management nor the party committee undertook the measures dictated by the requirement that all personnel in the technical-operational apparatus of the enterprise will one day each week carry out production work in the mining or drilling sections and sectors. As a result, the actions was carried out formally.

The absence of an appropriate control also was felt with regards to the totally inefficient manner in which operations personnel are used in the computer center in the enterprise, which is not yet loaded to full capacity with projects specific to the automated processing of data. And, paradoxically, the management of the enterprise instead of taking measures to reduce the number of these personnel to the level of the labor needed to deal with the programs placed into the computers and the amount of equipment available, assigned cadre to this center to deal with projects of an office nature regarding computing salaries, accounting data on materials and accounting data on the cafeteria.

How could the party committee learn of such phenomena when it showed a lack of exigency, combativeness and firmness itself with regards to the serious abuses committed, first of all, by the party secretary? The poor political-educational work carried out led to the creation of a climate where order and discipline could not have its say and could not be expressed. Because of this, work time was not appropriately used, with those unjustifiably absent not being held accountable and a position not being taken against them.

The fact also seems inexplicable that no one in the party committee was involved in guiding the organization of the Union of Communist Youth, did not know their concerns or the manner in which it was working. As a result, the Union of Communist Youth organizations in this unit introduced their own regulations regarding holding meetings, with the result being that in 15 months on five meetings were held, or once a quarter, with only 50 percent of the number of Union members participating.

Certainly, after finding the commission of certain such serious violations in this unit severe measures were taken against those who committed them, measures designed to contribute to improving the work climate and to preventing the appearance of unprincipled acts of dishonesty and compromises of any

For his lack of responsibility and exigency in work, for tolerating certain abuses by management personnel and for favoring the employment and promotion of certain close relatives, Dumitru Tudoreanu was relieved of his position of party committee secretary, placed in discussion in the party committee and punished with a "vote of censure."



Keeping in mind the illegalities committed by withdrawing materials, steel plate and heating elements, Ioader Tudoreanu, the chief of the mechanization office, was relieved of his position, placed in discussion in the base organization and his acts submitted now to criminal investigations.

Similarly, the director of the enterprise was relieved of his job for the abuses committed and placed in discussion in the party organization.

These reprovable acts did not occur, however, overnight, but over several years. It is clear how the control worked as carried out by the bureau of the county party committee during the time these abuses accumulated, becoming obvious and flagrant without even a single one of the activists who passed through this enterprise reporting them or intervening to stop them at their roots. By staying on the surface and working in generalities, the control and guidance work no longer had the appropriate ring to it, with its presence not actually being felt. Not by chance it was decided to bring this to the attention of the bureau of the county party committee. This is why it is necessary to learn all of the lessons from what happened at the Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration, with the bureau of the county party committee placing into discussion within the party active the illegalities committed in this unit and the circumstances under which they took place and extending control, under the aspects of work relations and the working style of the party secretaries, to other units.

#### A Serious Renunciation of Statutory Norms

One of the fundamental duties of the secretaries of the town party committees, as it is for all party activists, is to forcefully oversee the direct application of statutory provisions and all party decisions and instructions.

Each activist, each party member is asked to represent, under any circumstances, a model of consistent respect with regards to the norms of party life and to bring about through his personal example an atmosphere of high responsibility towards the principles and norms of party life. A party activist who does not take statutory regulations into consideration not only causes damage by way of the violation that he commits, but introduces into his organ of the party organization to which he belongs a liberalist spirit and proliferates a lack of discipline, arbitrariness and individualism.

Take for example Negru Constantin, a secretary of the Bustuchin Town Party Committee in Gorj County. Together with the secretary of the base organization in the village of Valea Pojarului, Gheorghe Ficiu, he organized the acceptance in the party of Ficiu's nephew (Virgul Ficiu), an accounting worker at the people's council who had no special merits. Actually, this person needed to be a party member in order to take the entrance exam to go to law school.

In order to make it easier to get Ficiu into the party, they misled the secretariat of the county party committee, entering this person as "a peasant in the agricultural production cooperative." Realizing that most of the members of the town party committee bureau would not agree with confirming his acceptance in the party, Negru Constantin did it by himself, in the name of the bureau.

Just how far the lack of consideration for the statutory norms went can be seen in the manner in which Negru Constantin organized a general assembly of the base organization in the villages Cionti-Namete in order to decide if Simioana Matei was still worthy to receive a new party card. Of the 19 members belonging to the organization, only 8 participated in the assembly, in other words, the assembly did not meet the statutory requirements and, as such, did not have the right to make valid decisions. Despite this, it decided to exclude Simioana Matei from the party, and he was not present, although he was in the village. And, at the direction of Negru Constantin the assembly's report was falsified, noting that 17 members were present.

Notified of such serious violations of statutory provisions, the secretariat of the Gorj County Party Committee undertook an investigation and cancelled all the decisions made that violated the party statutes and the instructions of the Central Committee. Certainly, Negru Constantin's acts themselves demonstrated that he has nothing in common with the qualities that must belong to a party activist. For that reason, the decision to remove him from his positions is totally justified.

At the same time, such gross violations of party statutes committed in a repeated and premeditated manner without respect for the norms that govern all the affairs of our party attest that N. C. not only does not deserve to have a position in a party organ, but does not need to be a party member, where the statute and the regulations recorded within it represent laws that cannot be violated under any circumstances.

That is why there was surprise in the indulgence with which the secretariat of the county committee viewed these extremely serious violations, punishing Negru Constantin with only a "vote of censure with a warning." Only after the intervention of central organs did the secretariat of the county party committee recently decide to exclude him from the party.

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ROMANIAN VIEWS ON LAWS GOVERNING USE OF OUTER SPACE

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 5, Sep-Oct 81  
pp 421-426

[Article by Dr Martian I. Micu: "Romania's Efforts on Behalf of Space Law"]

[Text] The appearance of the states' space activity and their efforts to regulate it legally led to the appearance and development of the Romanian doctrine on space law (1), which expresses Romania's concern that space law guarantees the peaceful nature of the states' space activity and its conduct for the benefit of all mankind.

The Romanian doctrine on space law also advocates the states' widest possible cooperation in space activity, so that the greatest possible number of states can share in it and all mankind, and the developing countries especially, can benefit by its results.

I. Need of Legal Regulation of States' Space Activity

From the start the subject literature in Romania has pointed out the necessity of legal regulation of the states' space activity, rejecting the stand that there is a "legal vacuum" in that field and maintaining that the fundamental principles of international law and the UN Charter apply to the states' space activity.

In the present developmental stage of civilization, the important activities of people or states must be legally regulated in order to avoid anarchic actions contrary to international security and peace. As Mihail Ghalusgeanu and Alexandru Bolinteanu say, "The particular importance of the legal problems concerning the states' activity in outer space lies in the fact that exploration of that space must be made to serve peace and human progress." (2)

It was also pointed out that all peoples and states, whether large or small and regardless of their social-political systems, have an interest in legal regulation of space activity so that it will serve mankind's progress and peace (3). It is in all peoples' interest that space law shall not permit the extension of such terrestrial practices as colonialism, discrimination among states, the armaments race et al. to space activity. Outer space must not become a new arena of earthly rivalries among states but an area of their peaceful and democratic cooperation.

Legal regulation of the states' space activity is a new expression of the impact of science and technology upon the development of international law. Mihail Ghelmegeanu and Alexandru Bolinteanu wrote, "The states' national and international affairs also demonstrated the interdependence between the technical-scientific and the legal aspects of the problems presented by the states' activity in outer space." (4) The history of international relations and international law bears witness that every new advance of mankind in the contemporary period, regardless of the purposes for which it was used by states and peoples, was regulated by international law sooner or later.

The appearance of space law raised the question from the start of its place in the legal systems, that is whether it belongs to the national law of the states or to international law. The Romanian doctrine maintained that space law is a part of public international law like other fields of the latter such as diplomatic law, maritime law, treaty law, law of the air, law of war etc. This stand was also taken by Mihail Ghelmegeanu and Alexandru Bolinteanu as they wrote, "In our opinion, and not in ours alone, the law applicable in outer space cannot be an autonomous branch of law but is determined as a part of international law." (5)

Under the present conditions of its existence and development, space law is a component part of public international law and helps to enrich it with new principles and standards. From the very start the resolutions of the UN General Assembly stressed the necessity of extending the fundamental principles of international law and the UN Charter to the states' space activity. Moreover space law is the creation of the main subjects of public international law, the states, and its standards are established primarily in the multilateral or bilateral international treaties. Its principles and standards are expected to regulate the international relations (between states or between international organizations) originating in space activity.

Space law, as it appears in the existing international treaties, is the entirety of the legal standards set by states in order to regulate the international relations flowing from the space activity of the states and international organizations. (6)

As for the sources of space law, the subject literature in Romania maintained at first that international treaties alone can perform that function (7). This principle was based on the traditional definition of international custom, which requires a longer experience to set the customary standards. Later it was acknowledged that the standards of space law can also originate in custom (8).

The origin and development of space law differ in some respects from those of the other component parts of international law. Space law has developed more rapidly than the other parts of international law. The standards of space law are primarily based upon multilateral treaties and to a lesser extent upon bilateral treaties. Space law has been a law of peace from its inception. (9)

## II. Space Law As a Law of International Collaboration and Peace

In studying the fundamental principles of space law, the Romanian theorists emphasized this important aspect of space law. Their efforts in this direction were intended to clarify these principles and bring out their importance for determining the laws governing outer space and the heavenly bodies.

Priority of one of these principles over the other basic principles of this law is a controversial problem in the Romanian technical literature on the fundamental



principles of space law. Mihail Ghelmegeanu and Alexandru Bolintineanu regard the use of outer space and the heavenly bodies for the welfare and benefit of all mankind as the most important fundamental principle of space law. They wrote, "The most important principle for the use of outer space is that of its use for the welfare and benefit of all mankind." (10)

As distinguished from this opinion, we have believed from the start that the "central" principle of space law is that of use of outer space and the heavenly bodies solely for peaceful purposes (11).

The close connection has also been emphasized that exists among all the fundamental principles of space law and especially between the two above-mentioned principles. Mihail Ghelmegeanu and Alexandru Bolintineanu said, "Of course the major consequence of the principle that space is to be used for the welfare and benefit of all mankind would be its use solely for peaceful purposes through total demilitarizing and neutralizing of that space." (12) Actually any completely peaceful activity of the states can only be for the benefit and welfare of all mankind (13).

Since the way in which the 1967 Space Treaty established the principle of use of outer space and the heavenly bodies solely for peaceful purposes gave rise to doctrinal disputes about the nature of that principle, the Romanian technical literature emphasized specification of the latter, pointing out that the principle is to be interpreted as prohibiting any military actions or preparations for war in outer space or on the heavenly bodies (14). The necessity of neutralizing, demilitarizing and denuclearizing outer space was maintained in close connection with this interpretation of the use of outer space solely for peaceful purposes. It had been maintained in 1964 that outer space must be denuclearized as an obligation of the states "to refrain from placing nuclear or thermonuclear weapons in this area and from using outer space as a theater of military operations involving nuclear weapons." (15)

In stressing the importance of the principle of use of outer space and the heavenly bodies solely for peaceful purposes, the Romanian technical literature pointed out the interaction that exists between peaceful use of outer space and the complete and general disarmament of the states. This point was succinctly expressed by the formula "A peaceful outer space necessarily requires a peaceful earth," calling attention to the inherent connection between the terrestrial realities and the space activity of the states (16).

It was also in 1964 that the Romanian technical literature pointed out the need of extending the principle of use of outer space solely for peaceful purposes to the earth, "because international security and peace are consolidated primarily by the terrestrial efforts to disarm the states." (17) The states were also requested not to carry the armaments race into outer space because of its threat to mankind and because of its illegality according to the principles of outer space. The evolution of the states' space activity involved aspects of the armaments race, which was extended to outer space and especially to space surrounding the earth. This bad feature of the states' space activity is due to some loopholes in the present space law regulation concerning categorical prohibition of military activities in outer space on the part of the states (18).

Use of outer space solely for peaceful purposes and the benefit of all mankind is regarded as a basic principle in establishing the laws governing outer space and the heavenly bodies as well as the space laboratories located either in outer space or on the heavenly bodies (19).



Emphasis is also placed on the principle of freedom of outer space and the heavenly bodies, as a legal axiom important to all peoples' participation and cooperation in space activity. The principle of freedom of outer space means that all states and peoples without discrimination have the right to use outer space and the heavenly bodies and to operate there with full equality of rights. But this freedom of outer space is no absolute freedom entitling the states to any kind of actions there (20).

In the Romanian doctrine the essential features of the general laws governing outer space are determined by the principle of freedom of use of outer space and the heavenly bodies by all states and the principle of exclusion of their national acquisitions.

The Romanian specialists in space law have been advocating development of space law as a right of the states to international cooperation in space activity. Space activity must contribute to the progress of all mankind and to the solution of some of the global problems that are troubling mankind in the present period (21).

### III. Romanian Doctrine's Treatment of Some Special Problems in Space Law

Along with its consideration of the fundamental principles of space law, the Romanian technical literature has also taken up some of the more special problems in space law.

For instance, it has taken up the problem of responsibility for damage caused by space objects launched by states or international organizations. The theory of objective responsibility, based upon risk, was invoked to substantiate this responsibility, on the ground that the theory of risk is more suitable in the case of responsibility for such complex space activities (22). The *lex loci delicti commissi* was applied to determine the amount of the damages because it permits a more accurate determination of the damages and ensures observance of the states' sovereignty.

As for the responsibility of the international organizations that launch space objects for the damage caused by said objects, it was maintained that the international organization and its member states are jointly responsible, on the ground that the international organization is a form of cooperation among its member states and therefore the launching of a space object by an international organization may be regarded as a launching effected by several states (the member states of the organization) jointly responsible for the damage caused by the space object.

If an international organization (its personnel or property) suffers injuries caused by the space objects, the member states of the organization are to act to recover damages for the organization for the injuries sustained. This is to be done primarily by the state in whose territory the organization's headquarters are located, if it is a member of the organization. The international organizations' responsibility for their space activity must be regulated as fully as possible because of the trend toward international collaboration in this field, which trend is increasingly conducive to formation of international organizations (23).

Another problem treated in the Romanian literature on the states' and international organizations' responsibility for damage caused by the space objects they launch was that concerning settlement of any disputes that might arise between the complaining state and the accused one about compensation for the damage caused by a space object. It was maintained that these disputes should be resolved by the peaceful means of international law and that the states should be free to choose the peaceful means of settling these disputes. The principle of freedom of choice of the peaceful means of

settling international disputes is in full accord with the fundamental principles of public international law.

These points were also made by the Romanian delegation at the Eighth Session of the Legal Subcommittee of the UN Committee on Use of Extraterrestrial Space for Peaceful Purposes (24).

The Romanian technical literature also took up the problem of laws governing direct telecasts via the artificial satellites (25).

The international organizations concerned with use of the telecommunications satellites were examined, and especially the charter of the Intersputnik organization formed by the socialist states. It was determined that the fundamental principles of international law and of space law should be observed in this field of the states' space activity too. Legal regulation of space telecommunications should serve the development of international cooperation on a democratic basis, and all states and peoples should benefit by the advantages of that activity. In judging the content of the UN General Assembly's resolutions on space telecommunications Dumitru Popescu wrote, "These resolutions make the essential point that use of the telecommunications satellites should serve the nations without discrimination, and international cooperation to construct a system of telecommunications satellites on a universal basis is important for that purpose." (26)

The Romanian technical literature specially emphasizes the necessity of observing the principles of national sovereignty and independence and noninterference in other states' internal affairs in space telecommunications. On those principles the Romanian authors maintain the necessity of the previous consent of the state on whose territory a direct telecast via the telecommunications satellites is to take place, as well as the respective state's opportunity to control the content of the transmitted programs. They also stress the necessity of eliminating certain programs, particularly those disseminating war propaganda, race hatred etc.

The laws governing both indirect and direct transmissions via the telecommunications satellites present a complex problem requiring the states to draft a real code for proper use of these telecasts in the interests of international cooperation and international security and peace, to the exclusion of any discrimination (27).

Romanian technical literature also discusses preparation of the treaty concerning laws governing the moon (28), pointing out the appearance of some new ideas about the laws governing the moon's natural resources, such as the "common property of all mankind" or the "common heritage of humanity." It also discusses the fact that the legal status of the moon (and the other heavenly bodies as well) must provide for use of their natural resources for the benefit of all mankind (29). These laws must guarantee that the moon and the other heavenly bodies will be used solely for peaceful purposes.

In distinguishing air space from outer space, or defining the two spaces in space law, the Romanian doctrine took a spatial position rather than a functional one. It emphasizes establishing a frontier between the two spaces, which have different laws (30).

The two spaces should be distinguished with a guarantee of the states' security and the interest of peaceful use of outer space by all mankind (31).

The year 1980 marked the passing of two decades of existence and development of the Romanian doctrine of outer space. It fully conforms to the doctrine of public international law in Romania by serving the ideals of international cooperation, peace and progress of all mankind.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The first studies of space law were published in Romania in the 1960's, i.e. Alexandru Bolintineanu, "Considerations on Drafting Laws Governing Outer Space in the Light of the General Principles of International Law," *STUDII JURIDICE*, 1970, Academy Publishing House; Martian I. Niciu, "Peaceful Coexistence in Outer Space," *KORUNK*, No 9, 1960; and "International Law and Outer Space," *JUSTITIA NOUA*, No 8, 1962.
2. Mihail Ghelmegeanu, Alexandru Bolintineanu, "Contributions to the Problem of the Legal Principles Governing the States' Activity in the Use of Outer Space," *STUDII SI CERCETARI JURIDICE*, No 1, 1961, p 70.
3. See Martian I. Niciu, "International Law and Outer Space," *JUSTITIA NOUA*, No 8, 1962, p 65; "Les principes essentiels du regime juridique de l'espace cosmique," *LA VIE INTERNATIONALE*, Moscow, No 8, 1962, p 128.
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6. See Martian I. Niciu, "Sur la definition du droit international cosmique," *INTERNATIONALE RECHT UND DIPLOMATIE*, Cologne, 1969, p 115; "Quelques considerations relatives a la notion et aux sources du droit international cosmique," *STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABES-BOLYAI. SERIES IURISPRUDENTIA*, 1970, p 155; Ludovic Takacs, Martian I. Niciu, "Public International Law," Bucharest, Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, 1976, p 176.
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8. See Ludovic Takacs, Martian I. Niciu, op. cit., p 176.
9. See Martian I. Niciu, "The Conquest of Outer Space and the Progress of Mankind," Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 1978, p 104-105.
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29. See Ludovic Takacs, Martian I. Niciu, "Public International Law," Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p 181.
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5186

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## CROATIAN SAWP NOTES SECURITY PROBLEMS

LD140008 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 13 Oct (TANJUG)--In considering the topical questions of the realization of social self-protection, the coordination committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference appraised the political and security situation in the republic as good. However, it noted that the social and political situation was becoming increasingly complex and that there were signs of its exacerbation, a contribution to which was being made by ineffectiveness in the pursuit of the policy of economic stabilization.

A particularly unfavorable influence is exercised on the political mood, vigilance and involvement of the working people, Stjepan Novakovic, executive secretary of the Croat League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, stressed in a report on the political and security situation in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, by inconsistency and irresponsibility in implementing the accepted policy, the lagging behind in the development of self-management relations and the relatively widespread phenomenon of illegal and other forms of behavior which run counter to socialist self-management norms and ethics.

The great majority of working people and citizens, it was stressed, back the fundamental line of socioeconomic and political development and are in favor of preserving the gains of the revolution and achieving its goals.

In our situation there is no alternative to socialist self-management--a fundamental aim of the revolution. Resolute opposition to anti-socialist and antiself-management types of behavior and to attacks on the foundations of our system is a primary political and security task at this moment, it was stressed at the meeting.

The complex economic situation has posed and continues to pose specific pronounced defense and security problems and tasks. Particular attention should be paid to the activity of the forces opposed to self-management and of the class enemy, who wants to exploit economic difficulties and thus ensure a growing area for its activity.

However, the activity of ideological opponents and class enemies has so far been and in the future will continue to be successfully suppressed in the future as well by the activity of the entire system of all-people's defense and social self-protection, including specialist organs and services.

These enemies do not represent a force and do not enjoy broad support among citizens, support of the kind that would threaten our constitution and social order and cause us any particular concern. However, it was stressed, in suppressing their activity it would be dangerous to underestimate them. This is why we need greater political stability and the successful functioning of the defense and protection system, for the strengthening of which we should continue to work hard.

With reference to the concrete forms and manifestations of enemy activities at this moment in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and to the need for broader and more intensive political action of all the socialist forces for the purpose of neutralizing, rolling and preventing them, it was stated at the session that the events of Kosovo had also been reflected in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and throughout our country.

Owing to this the activity in the republic had been aimed at preventing any expressions of dissatisfaction with the Albanian nationality as a whole, because that would have created the basis for the manifestation of other forms of nationalism as well. This activity was yielding positive results.

The members of the coordination committee stressed that the activity of members of individual churches not only was not coming to a stop, but was continuing to escalate. As far as this republic was concerned, this particularly applied to the Catholic Church. Efforts were being made to exploit the believers' religious and national feelings for political purposes and to turn believers against other citizens, the political system and the League of Communists. A contribution to this was made both by the thesis about the connection between religious and national feelings and by the assertion that justice, equality, love, human dignity and so forth could be achieved only through religion and so on.

The members of the committee pointed out that this kind of political activity by the church could not be opposed only by means of sporadic public condemnation in speeches by prominent officials and in commentaries, reports and appraisals in our press. It is also necessary to step up political work with the working people and citizens, including believers, with the aim of exposing the present hostile political activity of the church.

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## 'MISUNDERSTANDINGS' OVER DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AIRMED

Sarajevo SVL:TI in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Nijaz Durakovic]

[Text] Recently there has been increasing talk about democratic centralism with varying arguments, and not infrequently from different positions. In then people do not hesitate to draw major conclusions on the basis of television images.

As an essential principle for organizing the vanguard of the working class, democratic centralism has its historical genesis, i.e., it unavoidably shares the fate of the proletarian movement in every country, depending on the nature of its particular sociopolitical reality.

Overall revolutionary experience says that there is not, nor can there be, leading communist activity without conscientious application of democratic centralism. It is an unavoidable principle for organizing the communist vanguard, its total life, work and activity, and the basis for combining revolutionary theory with concrete political action.

## Epochal Changes

The course of the revolutionizing of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from classic ruling political party is well known as it became the leading ideological, political and guiding force in socialist self-management, into the vanguard of the working class and the actual political force of associated workers who fulfill their role as the basic instruments in creating socialist self-management relationships. Precisely the development of socioeconomic relationships has inexorably resulted in the elimination of representative politics and its conversion into direct democracy, the overcoming of the classic system of party rule. Thereby, the process was automatically opened for the reformation of the communist organization from "the party that rules sovereignly and governs through the agencies and apparatus of state power, into the League of Communists, which functions as an internal motivating, ideological and political guiding force of socialist self-management. These changes that were epochal for Yugoslav conditions presupposed a focus shift in activities of the vanguard from the area of state administration to the area of workers and social self-management that affirms the organizations of associated labor and other self-management organizations and communities, as an essentially different position and role is assumed by other sociopolitical organizations. All of that has been accompanied by clear

limitations of the role and responsibility of the leadership and the organizations of the LCY toward the positions and role of the state administrative apparatus, or the maturation of the LCY from direct administration of state and social affairs, which finally results in the elimination of the once strong monopoly of the party in political decision-making. All of this assumes the need for the transmitting relationship between the LCY and other sociopolitical organizations to prevail, with the accompanying strengthening of ideological and political, action and organizational independence and responsibility of those organizations that, particularly after the 10th LCY Congress and the approval of the new constitution, have an essentially different role in the political system of socialist self-management. The democratization of the social role, method of operation, organization and internal life of the LCY was primarily directed toward the constant strengthening of the direct influence of the working class on the entirety of the vanguard's revolutionary functioning, and all with the main goal of having it take control of the entirety of social reproduction. In harmony with the new social position of the League of Communists, the need arose for a decisive ideological struggle against the old practice and concepts according to which the LCY continued to be treated as a guiding institution that brings external moral guidance and functions as an external factor relative to those involved in social decision-making. Particularly in the last 10 years, in that regard there have been instances of the "interference" or "non-interference" of the LCY along with supposed "democratic fear" of renewed statist tendencies. In political practice, all of this not infrequently is manifested as a cleverly camouflaged demand for the elimination of the principle of democratic centralism. It is particularly discernible in conceptions that led to the formalization of intra-party democratization, and its reduction to parliamentary loquacity (Lenin), to an irresponsible "discussion club," to verbalism and an empty political phraseology that would not have a real, institutionally articulated influence.

### The Dialectics of Principle

This has been joined recently by an overly vociferous interrogation about what is "more democratic and less centralist" and the obverse, as if the dialectics of the principle itself was being ignored consciously, or the fact that democratic centralism is the chief support for the constant strengthening and affirmation of the democratic structure and position of the League of Communists, the basis of the unit and action readiness of the LCY. They truly ignore the historically affirmed self-management, socialist experience that in its essence, democratic centralism does not mean a unilaterally conceived yoking of democracy and centralism, an established recipe for a prescribed cocktail of the one and the other. Rather, it is a matter of the dialectics of the functioning of the vanguard that has been adapted to the needs of revolutionary practice. For democracy, if it were not to mean discipline, responsibility, and obligation in implementing decisions arrived at freely by the majority, would be a dead work on paper, and certainly would be barren in relation to the goals of the revolutionary movement. It would never be acceptable to neglect the class character of that democracy. In implementing its role as the vanguard, the League of Communists has used democratic centralism not only to provide democratic internal relationships, responsibility, "discipline," criticism and self-criticism, but also to provide the general concrete historical conditions for the realization of the interests of the entire revolutionary movement. Within this framework, democracy and centralism are two sides of the same process, that of the vanguard's party functioning, in which no single dimension is sufficient by itself. Centralism is indispensable for effective action by the organization, but never dare be imposed from outside. Rather, it should appear as the result of organized theoretical and



practical political coordination that has emerged from democratic dialogue, confrontation, and mental struggle. In that dialectical combination, democracy depends primarily on the method of operation of the League of Communists. To the degree that it is the expression of the broadest working masses, it is more natural to demand democratic discipline and centralistically mediated responsibility for implementing decisions that are based on democratic agreement. Naturally, opposite behavior, deviations and abuses are always possible. Without intended to go into an analysis of these deviations, from which the LCY in certain periods of its development has not been immune, we can say that it is symptomatic that in some current debates on democratic centralism people "forget" the opinions of comrade Tito and Edvard Kardelj concerning these problems. Among other things, these opinions are built into the documents for the congress. Whether it is a question of forgetting or of conscious avoidance, is difficult to say, but the fact remains that dilemmas are being created in places where the determined positions are already well known, and doubts are being cast on that which has been affirmed as indisputable revolutionary qualities.

### Direct Conflicts

In revealing various unitary centralist, nationalist, liberal, fractional and similar tendencies, comrade Tito stressed, at the 10th LCY Congress, that: Once more the importance has been shown of creating democratic centralism based on Lenin's principle of the broadest democracy in creating policies, and the strongest unity in their implementation. For our party, that will continue to be the basic principle in the future. When the majority approves decisions on the basis of broad, democratic discussion, the minority must accept them. Members of the LCY may not agree with certain concrete positions, but when once decisions have been made in a democratic way by the majority, then all are obliged to take part in their implementation.

In a number of other speeches, Tito stressed the permanence of the principle of democratic centralism, with precisely established rights and obligations for every communist. Yet recently some new dilemmas have been aired. Now questions of the rights and obligations of members of the League of Communists in self-management agencies are being posed. Is such a member obliged to support the position of the LCY, or does he have the right to discuss freely as a member of a self-management group? Is an LCY member handicapped by the fact that his party organization has taken positions on certain questions in advance? What sort of questions should the LCY address and take positions upon: Only those concerning basic ideological directions of society's development, or only those decisions that are in direct conflict with basic directions of the LCY's activities? Along with all of this, opinions were also heard that the very principle of democratic centralism has become antiquated, and that it no longer truly expresses our theoretical conception of the unity of the LCY, so that the term should be replaced by the "principle of the democratic unity of the LCY's functioning."

### The Strength of the Arguments

Not one of all this, it appears that we will have to return to what Edvard Kardelj recently wrote about: and what was readily accepted as the platform of the 11th LCY Congress. In speaking of the manner for implementing the social role of the LCY, Kardelj stressed that communists really must participate in two ways in the overall socio-political system: "First, communists participate as individuals as freely, fully and equally they make democratic decisions with all other members of the organizations and bodies where they work. In this naturally, they must pay attention



To the general political course of the LCY and to their agreement with that course. In this they are not expected, and it would be totally unrealistic to expect them, to seek the approval of party committees for every decision they make. Nor is there any need for that, for the great majority of problems decided by society are ones where, actually, it is not even necessary for the LCY to become involved in their resolution.

"The other form of communists' participation in the system occurs when individual communists or a group of communists appear as direct representatives of the League of Communists as an organization. Here I am thinking of a delegation of the LCY, for example in sociopolitical councils, in a joint delegation of the Socialist Alliance, and also of LCY delegates and, of course, other delegates of sociopolitical and social organizations in political councils where they do not always advocate their personal position alone, but can have a mandate to express the positions of a responsible forum of the League of Communists. They do, in fact, deal with problems that emerge in the work of these councils and bring them back to LCY forums where they will be resolved. Therefore, they behave in a way where the League of Communists, and not individual communists, takes on social responsibility." Developing these positions in his work "Directions of Development," Kardelj pointed out that in self-management agencies, delegations and delegates bodies, where an Lf organization has already debated and taken positions on a significant problem, communists must support and further those positions. They do this not from positions of power, in the name of party authority, by manipulation or political threats, but rather by strength of argument, in democratic discussion, with alternative resolutions, etc. If they turn out to be in the minority, they should not regard that tragically, for that is the real power relationship. Not even the LCY has a monopoly on the truth, so the decisions that it offers do not always have to find support of the working people or be the most valuable decisions.

On the other hand, Kardelj considers that "there is no serious social question before responsible social institutions that the LCY should not take an interest in and seek to become involved in resolving. It should not, however, force its decision on society, nor take responsibility for making the decision. The question is not whether the LCY should or should not become involved in the direction for resolving actual social problems in all areas of public life. Rather, the question is how it should become involved in those problems under circumstances where working people operate through self-management, how can the LCY progressively affect resolution of social problems in conditions where those decisions are made by the working people themselves."

#### "Compromise Decisions"

In the context of the debates that have been discussed, it is interesting to analyze particular positions taken by Nenad Kecmanovic in his article "Democratization and Decentralization" (NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 2 August 1981). Specifically, in an attractively set article, Kecmanovic artificially contrasts the principles of democratic centralism and social agreement-seeking and negotiations, without perceiving that in certain situations, social agreement-seeking and negotiations can serve in the function of affirmation and further development of the principle of democratic centralism itself. Naturally, the principles of negotiation and agreement-seeking cannot replace the principle of democratic centralism, but they are not incompatible to it. What is more, in creating an artificial dilemma in that regard, he then "logically" reached the conclusion that, if agreement-seeking and negotiation takes

place in the highest party agencies, that automatically and a priori has its negative consequences, particularly from the standpoint that in such a situation decisions would be made by "compromise, accommodation, compromise decisions, backing down from principles, contention and the like." Kecmanovic considers that that would be against the statutes, for the LCY, at least by its proclaimed internal order, is a unified organization, and by that fact alone its leadership cannot be collection of representatives of special republic party interests. Rather, it must be a homogeneous body in which every member, no matter what party of the country sends home to a session, represents the interests of the LCY as a whole." It emerges that self-management negotiation and agreement-seeking can only be done on the basis of compromise, accommodation, compromise decisions and the like, and not on the basis of open self-management dialogue, democratic conflict of ideas and resolution of decisions that will be acceptable to all and that will take into consideration both the actual interest of the moment and the general social interest.

It is as if Kecmanovic foresees that the "interest of the LCY as a whole" is not some abstract category, independent of the concrete working class and national interest in republic and provinces, and as if this interest cannot be reached on the basis of democratic debate, full equality, and responsibility of the leagues of communists of the individual republics and provinces. That is because, according to the LCY Statute, the republic and provincial league of communists organizations are responsible for the democratic preparation of the policies and positions of the LCY, as well as for their conscientious implementation.

Naturally, the communists do not represent any sort of special, egoistic interest of the republics and provinces, although such a special interest can appear in institutions of the political system (such as in the Yugoslav delegate assembly). That interest too, however, is realized only to the degree that the actual historical interests of the working class are expressed. That is, it is realized to the extent that it can be equated in content with the general social, revolutionary interest.

#### Grouping of Delegations

In other words, the interest of the LCY as a whole comes out of the entire practice and the goals of the revolutionary movement, as well as from the overall dialectics of the class and national interest of all peoples and nationalities. If that is not kept in mind, then on the basis of artificially created dilemmas, as in this instance, certain conclusions beg to be made on the basis of film reports from sessions and the order of seating individual leaders. Although he remonstrates against making any conclusions on that basis, Kecmanovic proposes the thesis that in the highest party structures "nevertheless negotiation and agreement seeking takes place" (doubtless he wants to say that this is to the detriment of the relativization of the principle of democratic centralism and unity of the LCY). He does this on the basis of a television image, from which he sees that "members of the united leadership of the united party sit grouped strictly in republic and province delegations." That is an attractive indicator to a journalist, but it would be difficult to accept it as a serious argument for a serious theoretical political conclusion.

Without intending to impute to Kecmanovic that which he did not say, nonetheless, we can state that the sum of his considerations somehow expresses the idea that the simplest thing would be not to have the complex problems of inter-republic and inter-provincial relationships and interests.

But that, after all, is the real situation here in Yugoslavia.

Obviously, all of this indicates that an exceptionally crucial current question will continue to be the realization of the principle of democratic centralism, and that in the context of preparations for the upcoming congress, we should open up broader debates that would devote attention to the traditions of the Yugoslav revolutionary movement, to the theoretical legacy of Tito and Kardelj, and to the entirety of actual relationships in which the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is being built and further developed.

12131

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

VETERANS FUNDS EMBEZZLED--Pristina, 28 Sep--Last year, in Podujevo commune alone 528 million old dinars were embezzled from funds intended for veterans and the war disabled welfare. The Kosovo social accounting service is now carrying out control in other Kosovo communes to establish if similar cases occurred elsewhere in Kosovo. It is already known that false payments to recipients of war disabled subsidies were made in several Kosovo communes. Today's session of the provincial committee presidium of the Kosovo veterans federation discussed this problem and decided that efforts will be made to make an end to many irregularities that occur in the allocation of funds earmarked for veterans and war invalids. Members of the presidium noted that the lax attitude toward social funds is the consequence of liberalism in certain circles, that the control institutions did not carry out their task and that a part of responsibility lies with the veterans organization because veterans did not point out these problems, although they have known about them. The presidium also discussed the state of information in the Kosovo veterans federation and a report on petitions and grievances sent to the Kosovo veterans federation, its organs and officials. [M. Antic] [Aul51858 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 81 p 3]

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